

JULIAN
THE
APOSTATE:
BEING
A Short Account
OF HIS
LIFE;

The Sense of the *Primitive*
Christians about his Succession;

And their *Behaviour* towards him.

Together with
A Comparison of *POPERY*
and *PAGANISM*.

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THE
PREFACE
TO THE
READER.

IN reading many of the late Addresses, I could not forbear thinking of those Angels which Mahomet saw, whose Horns were half Fire, and half Snow: those Contrarieties which they wore on the out-side of their Heads, methought, many of our Addressers had got on the in-side of theirs. For with a brave and warm Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and a Protestant Prince, they generously offered their Lives and Fortunes, and the last drop of Blood, in defence of his Majesty, and the Religion now established by Law; and by and by, the same Lives and Fortunes, and last drop of Blood, are promised over again to a Popish Successor. What is this but clapping cold Snow upon the Head of all their Protestant Zeal? For he that offers his Service to both of these together, lifts himself under two the most adverse Parties in the World, and is Guelph and Gibeline at once. What benefit a Popish Successor can reap from Lives and Fortunes, spent in defence

The Preface

of the Protestant Religion, he may put in his Eye: And what the Protestant Religion gets by Lives and Fortunes spent in the Service of a Popish Successor, will be over the left Shoulder.

But this contradictory Zeal was nothing near so surprising, as that of our Friends of Rippon, who beseech his Majesty, and are very solicitous, lest he should agree to a Bill of Exclusion; (for plain English is as well understood on this side the Trent, as on the other) and seem to be very much afraid of losing the great Blessing of a Popish Successor. All the sober Men that I have met with, who remain unsatisfied as to a Bill of Exclusion, do nevertheless acknowledge, That a Popish Successor will be a heavy Judgment of God to this Nation, to which we must patiently submit, as we do to all other Calamities. But did ever Men pray for a Judgment, and make it their humble Request, that they might be sure of it? Do they not, on the other hand, when it begins to threaten them, heartily deprecate the Evil, and are they not earnest with God to avert it? Nay, do they not moreover use all lawful humane means to prevent it? There is no Judgment represented in Scripture, to be so immediately the stroke of God, as the Plague: David, in his great strait, made choice of it under that Notion; when he desired rather to fall into the Hands of God than into the hands of Men; and yet Men do constantly make use of all lawful means to prevent it. For, besides their using Hippocrates's Receipt of Cith, longè, tardè, and running away from it; they make no scruple of antidoting and fortifying themselves against it. They strive with an infected Air, and with Flies, and Fumes of Pitch and Tar, &c. they endeavour

your to correct it. Nay, they imprison Men that are infected, and put them under a very close confinement, when they have committed no Fault, nor done anything to forfeit their Liberty, only that they may thereby preserve others. This, and many other things are done by Law, till such time, as it pleases God to countermand that heavy Judgment. I was therefore perfectly posed with that Address, and could not tell what to make of it. The least I could think of them was this, That if they were Protestants, they were Men weary of their Religion, who were so undone for a Prince, a great part of whose Religion it is, to persecute and extirpate theirs. And considering with my self, what Precedents or Examples they might have of this strange Conduct, and being able to find none; instead thereof, I had an imperfect remembrance of the quite contrary carriage of the Primitive Christians towards Julian. In which, having thoroughly satisfied my self, I was willing to give the world this short Scheme of it. I can term it no otherwise, for whoever pleases to look into those places which I have cited, will find, that I have not improved the Subject; but have left, untouched, sufficient materials for whole Volumes, to any one that shall be disposed to write them.

Having told you the occasion of writing this Discourse, I shall say somewhat of every part of it. I have been very brief in Julian's Life, because I wrote it, only to render the following Discourse concerning his Succession intelligible; and yet, I am sure, I have not omitted any of the main strokes of it. The Christians behaviour towards him was necessarily added, as a collateral proof, and illustration of their sense about his Succession. Indeed,

if they had been worthy to have known Julian's Religion, before he came to be Emperor, we had not had that part to write; but they that report, and do not invent, must take things as they are. This behaviour of theirs being so contrary to what is commonly reported of them, and to the carriage of former Christians, I found it necessary to make some few Remarks upon it; and to shew that there was as wide a difference betwixt their Case, and that of the first Christians, as Laws for men, and against men, could possibly make. And if other men are for taking Laws and no Laws, and shaking them together in a Bag, and for making the Result of either of them to be Passive Obedience, I cannot help that; no more than I can my own belief of this as a first Principle, that the Laws of a Man's Country are the measures of all Civil Obedience; or my belief, that any kind of Obedience, either Active or Passive, without a Law to require it, is like one of the marvellous Accidents in Transubstantiation, which makes a shift to subsist, when it has lost its Subject. But there it was, that I met with the Doctrine of Passive Obedience; which when it is taught without any regard to Laws, and is prescribed both without Law and against Law, is not Evangelical but Mahumetane, and the very Turkish Doctrine of the Bow-string. In such a short Discourse, it was impossible for me to say the tenth part of what is to be said, to shew how intollerable that Doctrine is, and how contrary, both to the Gospel, and to the Law of the Land. Christianity is so far from enslaving us, or devesting us of those Rights and Priviledges which we have already, that it encourages us to procure more Liberties and Franchises, if we can come honestly by them. Read 1 Cor. 7. 21, 22, 23. with Dr. Hammond's

mond's Paraphrase upon them. And St. Paul himself was not for Passive Obedience by any means, even when the lawful Magistrate persecuted him, if it were in an unlawful way, but he stood upon his Birth-right. For did not he in one place, awe the Centurion and chief Captain, and make all the Souldiers vanish who were commanded to beat him, by telling them he was a Roman? And did not he, in another place, bring the Magistrates of Philippi, one of the chief Cities of Macedonia, upon their Knees, when they had illegally beaten him, without a fair Trial, by telling them he was a Roman? Although it is very plain, that he, and Silas, who suffered with him, had really offended as they were accused, and were guilty of breaking the Roman Laws, yet St. Paul insists upon this, that they were uncondemned. It were easie to produce many more passages to the same purpose. And then as for the Laws of the Land, That Doctrine overthrowes Magna Charta, Chap. 29. together with multitudes of Statutes and ruled Cases; which, as I cannot stand here to name, so I need not, they are so well known. Only I will set down one Case, for the fullness of it, which comprises in it more than all that I have said.

Acts 22. 25,
26, &c.

Acts 16. 39.

Verf. 21.

Verf. 47.

In the Circuit of Northampton, when the Lord Anderson and Glanville were Justices of Assize, a Pursuant was sent by the Commissioners to arrest the Body of a man to appear before them; and in resistance of the Arrest, and striving amongst them, the Pursuant was killed: And if this was Murder or not, was doubted, and this depended upon the validity of Power, and authority of the Pursuant: for if his authority was lawful, then in killing of an Officer of Justice in execution of his Office, is Murder: And advisement was taken till the

Coke's Reports 12th
part. p. 49.
Brownlow's
Rep. 2d part.
p. 15.

The Resolu-
tion of all
the Judges.

next Assizes; and upon Conference, at the next Assizes, it was resolved, that the Arrest was Tortious, and by consequence that this was not Murder. The Pursivant was a proper Officer of the High Commission Court, he was sent by the Court to make this Arrest, it was one of the Powers of their Commission to send for any by Pursivant, &c. And yet because this Power had no foundation upon the Act, 1. Eliz. upon which their Commission was grounded, it could not justify the Arrest, and consequently the Pursivant's Blood was upon his own Head. For as every Subject ought to be, and therefore is supposed to be conversant of the Law, much more ought they to be, who have any part in the execution of it. Now any man may see, that my Discourse does not descend to any such petty Matters as false Arrests, (though a Man's Liberty is not to be despised neither) but I have honestly and legally pursued the end of our Saviour's coming into the World, which, as him-
Luk 9. 56. self witnesses, was, not to destroy Men's Lives, but to save them. Of which the Laws of the Land are likewise very tender, and have taken a particular care of all those, who are put upon an inevitable necessity of defending themselves against the assaults of violent or evil-disposed Persons. And to conclude, That Doctrine quite alters our Oath of Allegiance, and gives us new Measures of Obedience, whereas the old ones are these. I shall be obedient to all the King's Majesty's Laws, Precepts, and Process proceeding from the same.

Wilkinson
Treatise
Coron. &c.
Coyri-Leet.
C. p. 140.

And then after all, that the case of a Pagan Successor might not seem remote and foreign, and nothing of kin to Popery, I found it necessary to make a short comparison of both those Religions; which though an unfinished Piece,
I will

I will be bold to say, is very like; wherein Popery may see her self neither flattered nor disguised.

The Church of England reserves her Faith entire for the Canonical Books of Scripture, her Reverence she divides betwixt the Ancient Fathers, and the first Reformers of this Church; who partly were Martyrs that died for the Protestant Religion, and partly were Confessors that afterwards settled it, as it is now established. How much the Fathers would have been for a Bill of Exclusion, we have seen already: I shall in a word or two, shew you the sense of the other. Every Body knows that King Edward the Sixth, to prevent his Popish Sister from succeeding, and not having time to call a Parliament, bequeathed his Kingdom, by will, to the Lady Jane Gray, which was confirmed by the Privy Council: It signified nothing indeed, because it could not make void an Act of Succession in Henry the Eighth's Time; but by doing that nothing, they shewed what they would have done if they could. I need not say what Bishops were concern'd nor how far they were concerned in that Business. But to pass by that, the Bishops in Queen Elizabeth's Time, to whom, under God and that Queen, we owe the settlement of our Church, concurred to the making of that Statute 13. Eliz. Ch. 1. which makes it High Treason in her Reign, and forfeiture of Goods and Chattels ever after, in any wise to hold or affirm, That an Act of Parliament is not of sufficient Force and Validity to limit and bind the Crown of this Realm, Sir Simon and the Descent, Limitation, Inheritance, D'Ewes and Government thereof: And when you *Journal* see their Names, you will find that very many *P. 140.* of them were Confessors.

The Preface

Canterbury,	Matt. Parker,
London,	Edwyn Sands,
Durham,	James Pilkinton,
Winchester,	Robert Horne,
Bereford,	John Scory,
Worcester,	Nicholas Bullingham,
Lincoln,	Tho. Cooper,
Salisbury,	John Jewel,
St. Davids,	Richard Davies,
Rochester,	Edmund Guest,
Norwich,	John Parkhurst,
Carlisle,	John Best,
Chester,	John Downham,
Ashaph,	
Glocester,	† Richard Cheyney,
Bangor,	Nicolas Robinson,
Landaff,	Hugh Jones,

† That brave
Man, who in
Queen
Mary's Time
was one of

those poor six, that in the whole Convocation House opposed Popery;
truly a very small representative Body of our whole Church.

And that these Bishops were active and zealous for such Acts as these, and were not concluded by a majority of the other Lords, appears by what they did, according to some, this Parliament; but as Sir Simon D'Ewes will have it, the next Year, in relation to the Queen of Scots. I am not satisfied with Sir Simon's Reason, which is, That there was nothing moved about the Queen of Scots in the 13th of Eliz. For Camden says, There was a Bill for making her lyable to be tryed as the Wife of a Peer of England, if hereafter she offended against the Laws; which the Queen hindred from passing into an Act. I should not have mentioned this, but by Sir Simon's Account we lose John Jewel, who died in the Interval betwixt this and the next Parliament.

liament. But still there are Worthies enough left, who were excluders with a witness, for they were for excluding Mary Queen of Scots, the next Heir to the Crown, not only from the Succession, but out of the World. As you may see by their Writing, intituled, Reasons to prove the Queen's Majesty bound in Conscience to proceed with severity in this Case of the late Queen of Scots. Some of which I will here set down, only to invite the Reader to peruse the whole Paper.

Sir Simon
D'Ewes
Journal.
Pag. 207.

Every good Prince ought, - by God's Commandment, to punish even with Death, all such as do seek to seduce the people of God from his true Worship unto Superstition and Idolatry. For that Offence God hath always most grievously punished, as committed against the First Table, *Deut.* 13. His words are these; *If thy Brother, the Son of thy Mother, or thine own Son, or thy Daughter, &c.*

Pag. 208.

Here you may perceive that God willeth his Magistrate not to spare either Brother or Sister, Son or Daughter, Wife or Friend, be he never so nigh, if he seek to seduce the People of God from his true Worship, &c.

But the late Queen of Scots hath not only sought and wrought, by all means she can, to seduce the people of God in this Realm from true Religion; but is the only hope of all the Adversaries of God throughout all Europe, and the instrument whereby they trust to overthrow the Gospel of Christ in all Countries. And therefore if she have not that punishment which God in this place aforementioned appointeth; it is of all Christian Hearts to be fear'd, that God's just Plague will light both upon the Magistrates and Subjects:

but

but that by our slackness and remiss Justice we give occasion of the overthrow of God's Glory and Truth in his Church, mercifully restored unto us in these latter days.

Eusebius Life
of Const. lib.
2.

Constantinus Magnus caused *Licinius* to be put to Death, being not his Subject but his Fellow-Emperor, for that the said *Licinius* laboured to subvert Christian Religion. And the same *Constantinus* is for the same in all Histories highly commended. Much more shall it be lawful for the Queen's Majesty to execute this Woman, who besides the subversion of Religion, &c.

A Prince ought in Conscience, before God, by all the means he can, to see to the Quietness, Safety, and good Estate of that people over which God hath appointed him Governour.

— Therefore as the Queen's Majesty indeed is merciful, so we most humbly desire her, that she will open her Mercy towards God's people and her good Subjects, in dispatching those Enemies that seek the Confusion of God's Cause amongst us, and of this noble Realm.

Object. But haply it may be, that some do discredit these Reasons by the Persons, when they cannot by the Matter; and will put in her Majesty's mind, that we in persuading her, respect our own danger & fear of Peril coming to us, and not right and true Judgment: Yea, and that it may appear very unseemly and worthy sharp reproof in a Bishop to excite a Prince to Cruelty and Blood, contrary to her merciful Inclination.

Resp. As touching the first Branch; surely we see not any great continuance of danger likely to come unto us, more than to

all good Subjects while this State standeth; and the State cannot lightly alter, without the certain Peril both of our Prince and Country. Now if our Danger be joyned with the Danger of our Gracious Sovereign, and Natural Country, we see not how we can be accounted Godly Bishops, or Faithful Subjects, if in common Peril we should not cry and give warning: Or on the other side, how they can be thought to have true Hearts towards God, and towards their Prince and Country, that will mislike us for so doing, and seek thereby to discredit us.

As touching the second Branch; God forbid that we should be Instruments to incense a merciful Prince to Cruelty and Bloodiness; neither can we think well of them, or judge that they have true meaning Hearts, that in the Minister of God and Officer, do term Justice and right Punishment by the name of Bloodiness and Cruelty. God I trust in time, shall open her Majesty's Eyes to see and espy their cruel Purposes under the Cloak of extolling Mercy, &c.

Here you see how urgent they are with the Queen, contrary to her inclination, to put Queen Mary to death, who did not suffer till thirteen years after; and how they make the dangerousness of her Religion, and the hopes which the Papists had conceived of ruining the Protestant Religion, by her means, not only sufficient, but necessary Reasons for so doing. A Bill of Exclusion is perfect Courtship to these Reasons. Let those therefore that run down three successive Houses of Commons for that Bill, turn their Fury and Reproaches, with more justice upon these old Excluders, and we have done. And

let them likewise give us but one Reason to prove a Bill of Exclusion to be unlawful, which they will own to be a Reason a week after, and not be ashamed of it, and I do solemnly promise to joyn with them in renouncing these Old Reformers, and will hereafter readily follow their new Guides and new Light.

In the mean time, because I see hearty Protestants abused to their Ruin, with shameful Sophistry, I think it the part of every honest man to detect it. And the most popular Argument is this; You are preingaged, and cannot consent to a Bill of Exclusion; for if you do, you are forsworn, because you have long since sworn Allegiance to the King, and to his lawful Heirs and Successors. Now though the Lawyers tell them, an hundred times over, No man can have an Heir while he is alive; yet this will not overcome that deceitful Prejudice which is occasioned by our common Speech; where a man and his Heirs are contempory, and familiarly live at once in the same House, and eat and drink together every day. Where likewise Heir Apparent sounds as a greater addition to Heir, and Heir Presumptive sounds as somewhat a less addition, and few are capable of considering them as terms of Diminution. No more than on the other hand, a Papist can be persuaded that Images are Idols, because there common speech has made a distinction, where really there is none, as the Homily well observes: Where as here it has confounded an actual Heir with one that is only in possibility. What is to be done then? Shall we shew them, that the Duty of Excise, for instance, is granted to the King, his Heirs and Successors; in which it is plain, that Heirs and Successors have not any title to a Penny while his Majesty lives, which God grant may be long, to keep them a great while from it.

Evil Idol.

p. 13.

it. Why, still it may be replied, that Heirs and Successors may have this Law-sense in an Act of Parliament, but an Oath of Allegiance ought to be conceived in plain words, and to be taken in the common sense of those words, without any Jesuitical Equivocation. Well, if it be so, then let them be sure to keep it in that sense in which they have taken it, or should have taken it by sixteen Years of Age, in the Court-Leet, in these words; This hear you, the Steward and the Court, that I shall swear, That I will be true Liege-man, and true Faith and Troth bear to our Sovereign Lord the King that now is, and to his Highness Heirs and lawful Successors, Kings or Queens of this Realm of England, and other his Dominions depending on the same, &c.

Whereby it is plain to every body, that no one certain or known Person in the World, has any interest at present in the Oath of Allegiance, besides his Majesty that now is: for who shall be King or Queen of this Realm of England hereafter, none but God himself knows.

Another Argument I have heard, which is fetch'd from the Common-Prayer, That no Church of England-man can, with a good Conscience, be for a Bill of Exclusion, which they say is to the prejudice of his R. H. because we there pray, That God would prosper him with all happiness, both here and hereafter. There is no man in the Communion of the Church of England that prays that Prayer more heartily than I do. But it would be a Curse, either in the Mouth, or in the Heart of any Protestant, under the name of Happiness, to wish him the opportunity, and which is more, the invincible Temptation, and a kind of Necessity, to extir-
pate

pate the best Religion in the world. That, I am sure, would be far from promoting his happiness in the next world, and I am apt to think, will contribute nothing at all to it in this. He that prays that Prayer with understanding, prays for his R. H's return to the Protestant Religion: which would both prove an unspeakable blessing to himself, and restore these three Kingdoms to be the happiest upon Earth. It would be some comfort if we could but hope for such a thing. But if the D. is perswaded that he has made a better choice, it were very desirable, but not unless it stand with his H's good liking, that he would enjoy that Religion to the greatest advantage, and take his fill of it at the Fountain-head, which a crowned Head at this instant does, who could not enjoy it so happily at home. And the rather, because all Protestants are sworn not to suffer Rome to come hither. For I am thoroughly satisfied, and so may any Man else, by once looking upon them, that the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, are Protestant Oaths, (as a great asserter of Religion and Laws, now with God, thought fit to term them) and we shamefully and wickedly break them, unless to our power we keep out Popery. And the Oath of Supremacy, being often called in Statutes, the Oath of Obedience, we are bound, by virtue of our Religion, of our Oath, and of our Obedience, which are strong Obligations, to oppose the entrance of Popery into this Kingdom.

And I am afraid it is a vain undertaking to go about, by Law, to twist a Popish Interest with these Oaths, when both our Religion, and our sworn Obddience, engage us to oppose it. For in any case that can be put, whether it be fit to obey Man, or God and Man too, judge ye. Julian endeavoured to entangle the Christians, and to destroy Christianity that

very way. There was a Law, and an Ancient Law of the Empire, (and so great stress was laid upon it, that the breach of it was look'd upon as an Offence against the Government and the Empire) that everyone should honour and worship the Emperor's Statues and Pictures; which were set up for that end in publick Places. Now he took advantage of that Law to ensnare them unawares in Heathenish worship, for he added the Figures of the Heathen Gods to his own Picture, and as Gregory's words are, mingled Poyson with their Meat, abusing their Loyalty to the Purposes of Idolatry. For this was his project, as Sozomen tells us, He concluded, that if he could bring over the Christians to this, he might the more easily attempt any thing else that he had a mind to; but if he found them disobedient, then to punish them without Mercy, as innovating in the Roman Customs, and offending against the Government and the Empire. A few therefore, who were also punished, understood the Cheat, & would not worship according to custome. Who they were, S. Gregory tells us, some of the wiser and more conscientious found out the fraud, but they paid for their sagacity; the pretence was, that they offended against the Honour of the Emperor; but the truth was, they came into danger for the sake of the true King, and for the sake of Religion. But the multitude, as they use to do, from ignorance, or an unthinking mind, simply thought they obeyed an Old Law, and more simply approached these Images. But what says Gregory of this sort that obeyed the old Law? Who perhaps, says he, may obtain pardon for their Ignorance, as being hurried into Wickedness by a Wile. He makes a doubt of it, but he would have readily pronounced concerning their Pardon, who

Inveſt. 1.
p. 83, 84.

Sozom. 1. 5.
c. 165

Ibid.

Sozom. ibid.
ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ
παραίτητος ἔστι.

wink

wink hard & are wilful. Now if a Prince puts a Border of Popery (which some say is ten times worse than a Border of Paganism) about his Picture, which we fain would honour and reverence, and once did, before we saw that unhappy addition, what shall we say, or what can we do?

Aug. in Ps.
124.
Julianus ex-
titit infidelis
Imperator,
&c.

In these afflicting Thoughts, I had almost forgot a Matter of great Consequence, and that is a passage of St. Austin, which rises up against all that we have said concerning the behaviour of the Christians towards Julian, and is to this effect. That the Christian Souldiers served under this Infidel Emperor, and where their Religion was not concern'd, made Conscience of obeying him; but where indeed it came to the Cause of Christ, there they made as much Conscience of disobeying him.

Now the Reader may please to take notice, that the whole Contest which I have described betwixt these Christians and Julian was purely upon the score of Religion, and not from any lawless or ungovernable humour. And as for these Souldiers fighting under Julian against the Persians, or other common Enemies of the Empire, (for as sure as they were Christians, they would never have drawn a Sword to destroy their fellow Christians, or the Interest of Christianity) and obeying the Word of Command, when they received his pay, it is such a low part of Honesty, that any man may pretend to it. If I had been there, a Souldier of Fortune, I should have done the same: and which is more, would have lost my own Life, rather than have served him that slippery trick in Persia.

But the Christians obeying Julian in indifferent Matters, which did not concern their Reli-

Religion, puts me in mind of a more famous Compliance amongst themselves. Every Body knows how the Church was rent in sunder by Arrianism, and there might be too much stiffness and rigidity on the other hand about Words, for ought I know, but miserably rent it was; which gave Julian great advantage against the Christian Religion.

Now what did the Christians do? Did the Orthodox go and side with Julian, to revenge the Injuries which they had received from the Arrians in Constantius's Time; or make use of Julian's Favour which he shewed in restoring them, to crush their Brethren which differed from them? No, there was no seeking to him by either side; only the Donatists of Africk complemented him, and received some small favours from him, but they were made infamous by it. Honorius the Emperor posted them for it all over the Empire very many Years after, and St. Austin is often tearing them for it in the next Generation.

For instead of that, a Synod held by Athanasius, and other Bishops at Alexandria determined, That because the Question of *οὐσία* and *ὁὐσας* troubled the Church, and because there were frequent Contentions and Disputes about them, these words should not be used in any Dispute but against the Sabellians.

Sozom. l. 5.
c. 11.

Lib. 6. c. 4.

The same Historian has a notable passage to the same purpose in Jovian's Life, who succeeded Julian; and who, by the way, when he was chosen Emperor by the unanimous consent of the whole Army, refused it, saying he was a Christian and would not be the Emperor of Pagans: The Army on the other hand, begged of him not to decline the Government of them as a wicked Government, for they were all Christians too; upon which he accepted the Empire.

* xxiij.

Empire. As soon as h^e came to be Emperor, says the Historian, Questions and Disputes about Doctrines of Faith, were again moved by the Presidents of the Churches. For while Julian reigned, the whole of Christianity lying at stake, they were quiet, and supplicated God with * one accord. that he would be merciful to them; upon which he makes this Remark; Thus Men use to do, when they are injured by Strangers, (or a Common Enemy) to be united amongst themselves; but when they are freed from Foreign Evils, then to fall into Disorder, and disturb one another.

O that we had but this piece of common sense, which it seems all the rest of Mankind have! for nothing else, but being united amongst ourselves, can prevent the Foreign Evils which are coming like a Torrent upon us.

All that I shall say further, in reference to this Book, is this, That I have been as careful in the Citations, as ever I was in telling Money; and therefore can only say, as they usually do in that case, I hope it is all right; and if it should chance, in any one particular, to prove otherwise, am ready to make it good.

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JULIAN

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JULIAN

ERRATA

Page 10. Line 1. For "the" read "a"
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deride : p. 25. l. ult. for *that those*, r.
those that : p. 36. l. 15. for *makings*, r.
making : p. 57. l. 29. dele *so* : p. 107.
l. 5. for *heir*, r. *hair*.



Julian the Apostate.

CHAP. I.

A Short Account of Julian's Life.



Constantine the Great, famous for being the first Christian Emperor, divided the whole Empire, at his Death, amongst his three Sons, as a Father does his Estate amongst his Chil-

Euseb. in
vita Const.
l. 4. c. 51.

dren. That Part which came by his Ancestors, the West, he gave to the Eldest, the East to the Second, and that which lay betwixt these, to the Yongest. All which devolved at last upon the second Son *Constantius*, by the death of his two Brothers. In the mean time, the Army used an extremity of Caution to secure them in the quiet possession of their respective Thrones, for being jealous lest their Uncles, and other Kindred, might usurp, they put them to the Sword. In these outrages of the Souldiery, *Constantius* and *Arribalianus*, and *Dalmatius* *Cesar*, were slain; but *Gallus*, and *Julian*, the Sons of this last-named *Constantius*, were wonderfully delivered, and saved, beyond all expectation. The cause of their Deliverance is variously represented. *Gregory* every where attributes it to *Constantius*

Τὴν μὲν
ἐν πατρὶ-
σιν ἀνέ-
των μεί-
ζονε
διένευσε.

Greg.
Naz. In-
vest. I.
P. 58.

Socrat l. 3. the Emperor; and so does *Julian* himself
 c. 1. So- acknowledge it in his Panegyrick of him.
Zom. l. 5. Others say, That *Gallus* the elder Bro-
 c. 2. ther was very sick, and the Souldiers con-
 cluded, that his Disease would kill him,

and save them the labour; and they did
 not think *Julian* dangerous, being but a-
 bout five Years of age. However that be,
 the Emperor *Constantius* afterward took

Greg.
Naz. In- great care of them, and they were main-
 vect. 1. tained and served like Princes, in one of
 p. 58. the Royal Palaces, as being the remaining
 Branches of his Family, reserved for the

Empire. They both made so good progress
 in Learning, that they entred into Orders,
 so as to read the Scriptures to the People,
 thinking this no diminution to them, but
 that Piety was the greatest Ornament. The

one of them was sincerely pious, though
 hot and fierce in his Nature; but the other
 redeeming the time, hid his wicked Tem-
 per under a Masque of Gentleness.

Gallus after this was made *Cesar*, and a
 great part of the World put into his Hands;
 who being accused of Cruelty, and aspi-
 ring to the Empire, was rashly cut off by
 the Emperor. *Julian* at the same time

fell under the Emperor's suspicion, but by
 the intercession of the Empress, he had leave
 to go to *Athens* to study Philosophy. How

he spent his time there, *Theodoret* informs
 us. *Julian*, after the death of *Gallus*, grew
 presumptuous, and had a great mind to the
 Royal Scepter. For which cause he went

up and down *Greece*, to find out Fortune-
 tellers and Conjurers, having a mind to
 know whether he should obtain his desire.
 And he met with a Man that promised to
 tell him these things; who led him into
 an Idol Temple, and there initiated him;

So that the desire of a Kingdom strip'd this
thrice-wretched Person of his Piety. But,
according to *Gregory*, he had none to lose
at that time. For before this, in his Bro-
ther's Time, *Asia* was *Julian's* School of
Impiety, for Astronomy, and Nativities,
and the vanity of Prognosticating, and that
which follows these, Magick; and he want-
ed nothing but Power to add to his Wicked-
ness. And before that, *Gregory* concludes,
that he was a concealed Pagan, when he dis-
puted hard with his Brother in Favour of
the Heathens, and pretended, that he only
tried how he could hold the weaker side of a
Question. Which agrees with what him-
self writes to the *Alexandrians*, when he was
Emperor. He advises them not to worship
Jesus, as God the Word, whom neither
they nor their Fathers ever saw; but the
great Sun, which from Eternity all Man-
kind do see, and behold, and worship,
which is the living, and animated, and un-
derstanding, and bountiful Image of the
Intelligible Father; if they would be ru-
led by him, who had tried both Religions;
who had lived twenty Years in their Religi-
on, and was now on wards of twelve in this.
However the Fathers all agree, that the oc-
casion of his revolt from Christianity, was
from a thirst of Empire, and from consul-
ting his Heathen *Gadbury's* about it; for
Sozomon tells us, That no Christian was to
meddle with the Arts of foretelling things
to come. *St. Austin* has fully express the
Matter in few Words; The same God, says
he, that gave the Empire to a good Empe-
ror, gave it likewise to *Julian* the Apostate,
*Cujus egregiam in dolem decepit amore domi-
nandi sacrilega & detestanda curiositas.*

Greg. Ib.
p. 61.

Ibid.

Julian
Ep. 51.

Sozom. l.
5. c. 2.

August de
Civit. l. 5.
c. 21.

The World knew nothing at all of this,

Socrat. 1. 3.
c. 1.

nor the Emperor himself, who was now perfectly reconciled to him, and sent for him from *Athens*, and made him *Cesar*; and as the greatest Pledge of his sincere Affections gave him his Sister *Helena* to wife, and gave him the command of an Army, against some of the Northern barbarous People who had invaded *France*. *Julian* indeed was jealous of this sudden advancement, and look'd upon it as grinning Honour, and in *Homer's* words, at that very time called it, *royaume & daval* a purple Death; and long after, in his large Letter to the Senate and People of *Athens* he represents it as an Artifice to expose him to danger, and to destroy him. But as *Socrates* has well observed, it is plain, that the Emperor had no such bad Intent, when he had given him his Sister, for that would be to have Designs against himself. In *France* he was very successful, and routed the Enemy; and having got the Hearts of the Common Souldiers, by giving them Money, they declared him Emperor. Thus *Julian* began to Reign; and after he had changed the Magistrates in every Province, and reduced *Constantinus* in every City where he came, and having increased his Numbers, with those that revolted from *Constantinus*, he openly laid aside his Hypocrisy of Christianizing, and marches with his Army for *Constantinople*. His pretence was, that he came to excuse his being made Emperor; but in truth it was to wrest the whole Empire out of *Constantinus's* hands. Who, on the other side, was going against the *Persians*; but hearing of *Julian's* march, advanced with his Army to meet him; but fell sick and died in *Cilicia*. If this fatal Blow had not happened to the Christians, *Gregory* concludes, That *Julian* had

Socrat. 1b.

Greg. In-
vect. 1.
p. 67, 68.

Ruffinus
1. 1. c. 26.

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had now paid for his Folly, and not gone so far as *Persia* for his Punishment, as he did afterwards, but had met it now within the Bounds of the *Roman* Empire. And he gives a very good reason for his Opinion; for when *Julian* was now lawful Emperor, and the state of Affairs was quite altered; Yet he found much difficulty in conquering that Army.

The first thing he did when he came to *Constantinople*, was to change his Court; By putting to death some, and banishing others, not only for being loyal to the great King *Constantine*, but for being more loyal to a greater King, and therefore unserviceable to him upon both accounts.

The next thing was, to gain the Souldiery; Which he presumed would be an easy business, because some of them would be prevailed upon by Honours, and some would be drawn away by Simplicity, as knowing no other Law than the Will of their

Prince; and as for the rotten and time-serving part, he could not fail of them.

And in conclusion, he did draw over the greatest part of them. Nevertheles, God

had still a Remnant, more than 7000 that did not bow the Knee to *Baal*, but repulsed

Julian, as a brave strong Wall does a forry Engine that is played against it. He

likewise called home the Orthodox Bishops whom *Constantine* banish'd, for one or both of these Reasons, as *Sozomen* will have it;

either that the Church might be embroiled by a Civil War of Contention among them-

selves, or to lay an odium upon *Constantine*; which last is in effect what *Theodoret*

says, He did it as a popular Act.

Having thus settled himself in his Throne, and made the Army sure to him, he began

Inveſt. I. pag. 68.

κὶ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς
τὸ κατὰ τὴν
ἐχθρὰν τὸ
κατὰ τοὺς
ταύτης ἐ
μικρὸν ἐρ-
ρον ἐγένε-
το.

Greg. In-
veſt. I.

p. 75.

Sozom. I.
s. c. 5.

Theod. I. 3.
c. 4.

Ib. cap. 3. to discover his Malice against the Christians. ' For before this he stood in fear of the ' Souldiers, who were Men principled in ' the true Religion. First of all, the famous *Constantine*, having freed them from ' their former Errors, instructed them ' throughly in the Doctrine of Truth; and ' after this his Sons confirmed them in it. ' For though *Constantinus*, at the Instigation ' of others, rejected the word *ἐνοσίχθων*, yet ' he sincerely confess'd the meaning of it: ' For he called the Genuine Son, who was ' begotten of the Father before all ' Worlds, God the Word. *Julian* knowing these things very well, did not discover the wickedness of his Heart, nor as yet make any Laws against the Christians.

Sozom. 1. Nay, he charged the People, That they
5. c. 5. should injure none of the Christians, nor reproach them, nor draw them to Sacrifice against their Wills.

They suffered, notwithstanding, very much in this Interval, as well as afterwards, from the insulency of the Heathens, and *Julian's* conivance at it. Of which *Theodoret* gives us abundance of Instances. The Heathens, says he, ran about the Streets, and abused the Saints with Scurrility and Mockery, and omitted no sort of reproachful and abusive Language. The Christians, not being able to bear the hard Speeches of these Men, reproached them again, and ran down that false Religion which they had in great Veneration. The Heathens, on the other side, answered them with Blows, and all manner of ill Usage, which he there sets down. In some places they proceeded to the most barbarous Outrages. At *Ascalon*, and at *Gaza*, where they rip'd up Christians, and then stuffing them with Barley, threw

threw them to be devoured by the Swine ; As *Gregory* observes, the first Hogs-meat of that kind that ever was in the World, and fit only for *Julian's* Devils. At *Heliopolis* there was one *Cyrl* a Deacon, who in the Reign of *Constantine*, burning with a Divine Zeal, broke many of the Images which were there worshipped : the execrable Heathens remembring this Act, not only killed him, but cutting open his Belly, they tasted his Liver. The Historian Records it as a Judgment upon those that did it, that in a short time after, their Teeth, and Tongues, and Eyes, drop'd out of their Heads. But, of all the rest, I must not omit their usage of *Marcus* Bishop of *Arethusa* ; He, in the Time of *Constantine*, throwing down an Idol Temple, built a Church instead of it. The People of *Arethusa* having understood *Julian's* Aim and Intention, soon discovered their hatred against *Marcus*, who fled for it ; but hearing that some of his Friends were like to suffer upon his account, he returned and delivered up himself to that barbarous People ; who (because he would neither rebuild their Idol Temple, nor pay the Money which they demanded for it) strip'd him, and beat him, and dragged him about the Streets by the Hair of his Head. They threw him into Sinks, and stinking Channels ; after that, they set on the Boys to stab and pinck his Body all over with their writing Bodkins ; they cut off his Ears with Thread, and otherwise tortured him ; they anointed him over with Oil and Hony, and put him into a Net, and hoisted him up in the open Air, in the very heat of Summer, to expose him to Bees and Wasps, and such mischievous Insects. And, at last, when they were weary

Inveſt. 1.
p. 88.

Greg. In-
veſt. 1.
p. 90.

Invest. 1.
p. 92.

of abuſing and tormenting him, they would have compounded with him for one piece of Gold. He ſaid, No ; it was the ſame Impiety to give one half-penny, as to give the whole ſum. It is obſervable, that this *Marcus* was one of thoſe that ſaved *Julian*, and privately conveyed him away at that time of danger, which we ſpoke of before. Whereupon *Gregory* has this ſharp ſaying ; ‘ For that one thing perhaps it was, that he ‘ juſtly ſuffered all this, and deſerved to ‘ ſuffer a great deal more, becauſe he ſaved, ‘ unawares, ſo great an evil to the whole ‘ World. Now all this was done and much more, not only without, but againſt Law : whereby it appears, how much an eſtabliſhed Religion is valued, when the Prince himſelf happens to be of another. For that alone authorizes the greateſt Violence, and Oppreſſion, and Outrages againſt them that diſſer from him. The Heathens, you ſee, did not ſtay for Laws and Edicts to warrant ſuch Proceedings, which indeed they never had at all ; but as ſoon as they knew how *Julian* ſtood affected, they took that for their Cue, to act theſe Tragedies upon the Chriſtians. They knew it would pleaſe the Emperor, and that was an unwritten Law. As *Gregory* wiſely obſerves upon this occaſion ; ‘ The VVill and Pleaſure of ‘ the Emperor, is an unwritten Law, back’d ‘ with Power, and much ſtronger than written ones, which are not ſupported by Authority. Upon which account he imputes all this Perſecution to *Julian* himſelf, who being a Philoſopher, avoided the Name of a Perſecutor ; and compares thoſe that injured the Chriſtians, to ſeveral Implements of Miſchief, but him to the firſt Mover who ſet them on work.

This

This under-hand Persecution, was follow-
ed with one more open and publick; and
though it were not so very severe in it self,
yet it still encouraged the former. As *Theod.* l. 3. c. 7.
odoret's words are in the next Chapter; 'A
' thousand other Insolencies every where,
' both by Sea and Land, were then com-
' mitted, by the Wicked against the Godly.
' For, from this time, the hated of God
' publicly made Laws against Christianity.
To begin with that which *Gregory* says was
a Law, though a childish and ridiculous
one; whereby it was ordered, That Chri-
stians should be called *Galileans*; as if Men
were to be put out of conceit with their Re-
ligion, by a Nick-Name, especially when
our Blessed Saviour himself suffered so
much in that kind, as the same Father ho-
nestly observes. In the next place, he pro-
hibited the Children of Christians to have
any Poetry, Rhetorick, or Philosophical
Learning; for, says he, according to the
Proverb, *We are shot with our own Fea-
thers*: Or, as *Socrates* expresses it, He com-
manded, by a Law, That they should have
no Schooling or Education, lest by this
Advantage they might be better able to op-
pose the Disputants of the Gentiles. Some
of the Fathers say, That he would suffer no
Christian Masters to teach, and make no
mention at all of his forbidding the Youth
to learn. Nay, *Julian* himself says, That
it would be an unjust thing to bar Children,
which knew not which way to turn them-
selves, from the right way; and says ex-
pressly, That their Children were not prohi-
bited. U, on this *Baronius* wonders at the
Ecclesiastical Writers, for saying, They
were prohibited. Bishop *Montague* won-
ders more at him, for contradicting all
Antiquity.

Antiquity. These great Men could not see a Consequence, which every poor *Hugenot* that comes over, perfectly understands. For by removing the Christian Masters, he did effectually deny the Children of Christians any benefit of Learning. For who would send their Children to Heathen Masters, where they should be in apparent danger of being principled and trained up in Heathenism? So that this Liberty which he indulged them, was a thousand times better let alone; it was one of his Traps, and deceitful Favours, wherein consisted the true Spirit and Genius of *Julian's* Persecution. And this has been one of the Modern ways of extirpating the pestilent Northern Heresy in *France*; where the Protestants have had the liberty, and almost a necessity, of sending their Children to Popish Schools, by being allowed but one Protestant School-master, where five would have been little enough. He made another Law, That those that would not forsake *Christianity*, should have no place in the Guards, nor be Governours in the Provinces. Immediately, as *Socrates* adds, who were true Christians, and who had only past for such, were made as manifest to all Men, as if they had been set upon a Stage. They that were hearty sincere Christians, readily threw off their Military Girdles, chusing rather to endure any thing, than to deny Christ. Amongst whom were *Jovian*, and *Valentinian*, and *Valens*, who were afterwards Emperors. Of the other sort, who preferred the Money and Honour which is to be had here, before true Happiness, was *Ecebolius*, who was always of the Emperor's Religion. Under *Constantine* he was an hot Christian, and under *Julian* a fierce Heathen, and after *Julian's* Time,

Theod. l. 3.

c. 7.

Socrat. l. 3.

c. 13.

Time, would fain have been admitted for a Christian again.

Gregory likewise makes mention of his Invest. I. Edicts against the Churches, to spoil them p. 86. of their Endowments, Plate, and publick Stock; which was performed with Military Execution, and in some places with much cruelty. And the last was, to levy Money upon those that would not Sacrifice, to defray the Charges of his Persian Expedition. Socrat. l. 3. c. 13.

These are all the Laws which I can find he made against Christians; though he designed far greater Severities against them, when he came home again from Persia. He intended, among lesser Matters, as Gregory p. 93, 94. tells us, to lay them all under a kind of Civil Excommunication, for they should have no benefit of the Law, unless they would Sacrifice in the presence of the Courts of Justice; so that whatever Injuries had been done to them, they were to have no Remedy. But to the great happiness of the Christians, that day never came, for he was killed in Persia: but by whom, and in what manner, we refer that to a more proper place.

CHAP. II.

The Sense of the Primitive Christians about his Succession.

Julian's coming to the Crown, a Pagan, was a perfect surprize to the World; so that we cannot expect to read of any Endeavours used to prevent his Succession, and to fore-close him upon the score of his Religion. There can be no Petitions to ~~Constitution~~ to exclude him, nor Addresses

in favour of him ; No Lives and Fortunes rashly staked down to maintain Impossibilities, to defend Him and Christianity together. These things are not to be had, and therefore we must be content to be without them : And the rather, because the Fathers have told us as much of their mind in this Point, as if they had actually, either Petitioned or Address'd.

To proceed the more faithfully and clearly in this Matter, it will be necessary to consider how the Succession stood, and what Right and Title *Julian* had to succeed to the Empire. And then, whether the Christians would have been willing to set aside this Title, and to have excluded him, purely for his Religion.

I. And in the first place, there is nothing more plain, than that the Empire was Hereditary : There are not words in the World to express it more plainly, then it is done,

in these following Testimonies.

Euseb. vita Const. l. i. c. 5. ἔγω δὲ καὶ δευ-
νθῆς βασιλείας
πατέριθεν ἰδὼν εἰς αὐ-
τὸν κατέβη δεσμός ὃ
φύσεως πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς
τέκνων ἐκ νόμοις ἐτα-
μίεντο εἰς ἀγήρω τε
χρόνον οἰατο. πατέρω-
θεν ἐμικύνετο κλη-
ρο.

Eusebius, speaking of *Constantine* the Great, hath these words ; ' Thus the Throne of the Empire ' descended to him from his Fa- ' ther, and by the Law of Nature ' was reserved for his Sons, ' and for their Posterity, and ' was to descend for ever, as ano- ' ther Paternal Inheritance does. To which we shall subjoyn as plain a Testimony from an

Non for- *egyriack* to the same *Constantine*, besides a
tuita Ho-
minum consensu, non repentinus aliquis favoris even-
tus te Principem fecit : Imperium nascendo meruisti.
Quod quidem mihi Decrum immortalium munus & pri-
mius videtur & maximum in lucem statim salicem ve-
nire, &c.

great

great deal more to the same purpose, tells him, 'It was not the casual consent of Men, 'it was not any sudden effect of their Favour which made you a Prince. You gained the Empire by being born into the 'World; which seems to me the first and 'greatest Gift of the Gods for one to come 'into the World Great, and to have that at 'home ready for him which others can 'hardly attain with all the toyl and labour 'of their whole Lives. Now if *Constantine* the Great was born to the Empire, so was *Julian*, having the same Royal Blood flowing in his Veins; being the Grand-son, as the other was the Son of *Constantius Chlorus*. After such full and pregnant Proofs, it would be time ill spent to heap up more; such as that of *Julian* in his *Panegyrick* to the Empress *Eusebia*, where he says; 'That *Constantius* married her, to have 'Heirs for his Great Lordship of 'almost all the World. He having none, *Julian* himself was the sole and undoubted Heir; for in him the Family was afterwards extinct.

Only there are some who would be glad (whether they understand what it is or not) to see some Divine Right mixed with a Title, for that would make it sacred and strong indeed. To please these Men if we can, let us again consider that Clause of *Eusebius* in the place last mentioned, where he says, That the Empire was entailed, *θεομῶ φύσεως*, by the Edict of Nature; which I think is the most sure and divine Settlement that can be. But lest we should think this Expression fell from him by chance, in another place he varies the Phrase, and

Julian Orat. 3. p.
202. Πρὸς παίδων
ἡρώων οἱ κληρονόμοι
σοι τῆς πικρῆς καὶ τῆς
ἐξουσίας γεροντὸς ἡδὺ
χρόνον π τῆς οὐρανίου
ἀπείρου κύριον.

beginning of his *Invective*, which he made presently upon *Julian's* death. After he has summoned all Nations to hear his Speech, all that dwell in the World, all People, Tribes, and Languages, all Men that are or shall be : And that his preaching might go the farther, all the Powers of Heaven, all the Angels, whose work it was to destroy the Tyrant, who had not kill'd a *Sihon* King of the *Amorites*, nor an *Og* the King of *Bashan*, but had kill'd the Dragon, the Apostate, the great Designer, the common Enemy and Adversary of all, &c. He applies himself particularly to *Constantius* :
 'Hear, O thou Soul of *Constantius* the Great, (if you can hear at all what we say) and the Souls of all Christian Kings before him ; but his especially, for as much as having grown up with the Inheritance of Christ, and enlarged it to his Power, and establish'd it by a long continuance, so as to be upon this account the most renowned of all the Kings that ever were, (O the mischief of it!) he committed a gross mistake very unworthy of his own Piety : Not being aware of it, he bred up for the Christians an Enemy of Christ. And he did amiss to be good-natured in this Instance only, in saving and making him a King, who was both ill-saved, and made an ill King. And for this reason he is likely to be most delighted, as with the Destruction of Impiety, and the Restoration of Christianity, so likewise with this Speech, which in the next words he dedicates to God, as a Thanksgiving Oration, and a Sacrifice of Praise ; so solemn it is. Now here is enough to shew that *Constantius* would never have made *Julian*, *Cesar*, nor have set up an Enemy of Christ over the

Invest. I.
p. 49, 50.

the Chiistians, if he had known him to have been such.

Invest. I.
p. 61, 63,
64.

But the same Father will give us better Measure in another place, in these words; *Julian* was presently Heir of his Brother's Kingdom; but not of his Piety; and not long after of him likewise who made him King; who partly gave way to it, partly was forced by Death, and suffered such a defeat, as was mischievous and pernicious to the whole World. What have you done, O divinst Emperor, and greatest lover of Christ! (for I am fallen to reprehending you, as if you were present and in hearing; although I know you to be much above my reproof, being placed with God, and inheriting the Glory which is there, and are only gone from hence to exchange your Kingdom): VVhat strange kind of Counsel is this which you have taken, who did far excel all other Kings in VVisdom and Understanding! And after he has magnified him upon several accounts, he thus proceeds:

Ἄ παρ-
δρώτους φι-
λανδρώ-
πίας. Τίς
συνεισήλ-
θε δαιμό-
νων πρὸς
ἀνέμματα.

You, who were led by the Hand of God into every Counsel and Enterprize, whose VVisdom was admired above your Power, and again your Power more than your VVisdom, but your Piety was valued above them both: How comes it to pass therefore, that in this Matter you should appear the only ignorant and inconsiderable Person? VVhat haste was there of that cruel kindness? VVhich of the Devils stole in along with you at that Consult? How have you thus, in a small and short point of Time, brought and delivered up to a common Cut-throat, your great Inheritance, and your Father's Glory, I mean the Christians, that shining Nation which is

‘in all parts of the VVorld ; that. Royal
‘Priesthood, which has been encreased wi.h
‘much Toil and much Sweat ?

To this Accusation of this good Empe-
ror, he presently subjoins an Apology, and
shews at last, that what he did was through
Ignorance ; ‘For who could be ignorant,
‘even of those that knew him but indiffe-
‘rently, how that for the sake of Religion,
‘and for the Love and good VVill he bare
‘to us, he not only would have neglected
‘him, or the Honour of his whole Family,
‘or the Addition of an Empire; but also that
‘he would have made no difficulty of part-
‘ing with his very Empire, and all things
‘he had in the VVorld, and his Life it self
‘(than which no Man has any thing more
‘precious) for our Security and Safety.
And after a great deal more to the same
purpose, he says thus ; ‘But simplicity and
‘plain-heartedness are not watchful, and
‘weakness is joyned with good Nature ;
‘and who are freest from VVickedness,
‘least suspect it. For this reason, what
‘would come afterwards, was not known,
‘and the Masque was not discovered.

In this remakable Passage, we have all
this for our present purpose.

1. That the making of *Julian a Caesar*,
(by which means he had an easy Passage to
the Crown, for it was the next step to it)
was a rash, foolish, and inconsiderate Acti-
on ; that it was cruel and inhumane, and
fit only for some Devil to advise.

2 That the Fault and Mischief of this
Action, was not because he usurp’d after-
wards upon *Constantine*, or upon any other
Consideration whatsoever, bnt purely be-
cause the Christian Religion suffered by it.

Sozom.

l. i. c. 5.

Κατὰ τὸ

δευτερον

ἡμῶν τῆς

βασιλείας

τεπμ-

μῶν

καί τας ὧν.

Somewhat

like our

Prince of

VVales, or

King of

the Ro-

And, mans.

And. 3. That *Constantius* can be no otherwise excused than by his ignorance of *Julian's* defection from Christianity.

And all this not nakedly set down, and coldly delivered, but with an Emphasis, and the greatest vehemency imaginable. He does not say, *Constantius* was to blame for this; but he calls him to account for it, he follows him with Interrogatories, and bids him answer from Heaven what he has done. He does not barely say, That if *Constantius* had known *Julian's* Religion, he would not have made him *Cesar*; but he says, that he would have disinherited his whole Family first, he would have parted with his Empire, he would have strip'd himself of all, and lost his Life rather than have done it. And according we find, that as soon as *Constantius* understood his Error, he bitterly bewailed it, which was just at his Death. He could not know it much sooner; For after *Julian* was declared

Emperor, and had set up for himself, as *dimianus* tells us, 'He still feigned himself a Christian. And though in private 'he performed his Heathenish 'Rites trusting some few with 'the secret, yet he publicly 'went to Church on *Twelfth-day*, and after he had been devout at the Service, he came away again. This was at *Vienne*, not quite ten Months before the Emperor's Death.

Am. Marcel. l. 21. ad init. *Utq; omnes nullo impediante ad suum favorem alliceret, inhaerere cultui Christiano fingebat, a quo jam pridem occulte desererat, &c. progressus in eorum Ecclesiam sollemniter Numine orato discessit.*

In. 1. p. 69.

Or by his speaking of before, *Gregory* says, That *Constantius* made his excuse in many words, both to God and Man, for his kindness to *Julian*; and shewed the Christians, with

with much earnestness, the Concernment he had for the true Religion. This he did at his last gasp, when otherwise it was all one to him who had the Empire, for he had done with it. And in another place, and upon a different occasion, he has these words. 'They report *Constantine* repented him at his last breath, when every Man is a just Judge of himself, because of the Tribunal, which is in the other World; for these three things he acknowledged were evil and unworthy of his Reign; the Slaughter of his Kindred, and his declaring of the Apostate, and his innovating in Matters of Faith. And with these words in his Mouth he is said to have gone out of the World. This is ten times more than if *Constantine* had actually excluded *Julian*, for he might have done that, and been sorry for it at his Death; as Men generally are for all the Actions of their Life, in which they are not satisfied. But now he repents him upon his Death-bed, where Men's Eyes are open, and they usually have their soberest Thoughts about them, that he had not done it, and reckons it in the number of those things which have blackned his Reign.

Orat. in
laud. A-
thanasii,
p. 389.

This was the old fashion'd Doctrine of *Gregory Nazianzen*, who alone, except *St. John*, has had the Honour to be called the Divine; this was the sense of *Basil* the Great, for *Gregory* entitles him likewise to these Investives; and this was the Conscience of a Dying Emperor. If this Doctrine shall displease any of those Men, who deceiving, and being deceived, say, That the Succession cannot be altered, which is punishable by the Laws of the Land; or that it ought not to be altered for the safety and security of true Religion, which is contrary

Invest. 2.
p. 132.

to what these Fathers assert with so much vehemency : In that case I have these two reasonable Requests to make to them.

1: That they would please to confute this Doctrine which they dislike, and prove it false.

*For even
Scripture,
not half so
much abu-
sed, these
menthem-
selves call
Cant.*

*This
Am. Mar-
cell. ex-
pressly ac-
knowled-
ges in the
passage
just now
cited.*

And then, 2: that they would never hereafter fetch their Mountebank Receipts of Prayers and Tears, and such like Encouragements to Arbitrary Government, of which I shall say more anon, out of the Writings of these very Fathers; but let them pass from hence forth for dangerous and Anti-monarchical Authors, Whom we can the better spare at this time, because the whole Christian World was of the same mind. Which, by the way, Julian understood very well; for what else made him go to Church? Nay, the Christians had such an aversion to a Pagan Successor, that they could not endure him, when he was become their lawful Emperour.

How fond they were of him, and what welcome they gave him to the Crown, and in how great heaviness they were at his Death, shall appear at large in the following Chapters.

CHAP. III.

Their Behaviour towards him in Words.

ANd here a Man may almost lose himself in the great variety of Instances, which may be given of their Hatred and Contempt of Julian, when he was Emperour. How they reproached him and his Religion to his very Beard; beat his Priests before his Face, and had done him too, if he

he had not got out of the way; prayed for his Confusion, and triumphed at his Death, and loaded his Memory with the greatest Disgrace and Infamy. These things will better be seen in the History and Relation of the Matter of Fact: which I shall put into the best order I can, by giving an account of what was done in his Life-time, and then all that concerns his Death, and after that, how they used his Memory.

Their Behaviour in his Life-time, will fall under these three Heads, of their *Words*, and *Actions*, and *Devotions*. I shall begin with the first of these, where Julian began with them. And they sufficiently requited him for calling them *Galileans*, for they named him *Idolianus* instead of *Julianus*, and *Pisem*, and *Adonam*, from his worshipping of *Jupiter* and *Adonis*, and *Bull-burner*, from the great number of them which he sacrificed. The *Antiochians* exceeded in this kind of spiteful usage, and chased him into the revengeful humour of writing a Book against them, which has preserved the memory of those Indignities which they put upon him. They derided the shape of his Body, his Gate, his Goat's Beard, every thing that belonged to him, as you may see in the very beginning of that Book. And afterwards he tells them they were very happy Men, who had renounced all service, either of the Gods, or Laws, or him who was keeper of the Laws; and that the Gods, as well as he, had suffered dishonour from that City. It was a saying among them, that *Abi* and *Cappa* had never done any injury to their City; by which Letters they meant Christ and Constantine. Yes, says he, let me tell you freely, Constantine did you one single Injury,

*Inveſt. 1.
p. 82.*

*Julian
Miſopogon.
p. 88.*

Ibid. p. 89.

P. 94, 95. Injury, that when he had made me *Cesar*, he did not kill me. Two or three times, in that little Book, he mentions their *Anapests*, and Lampooning his poor sorry Beard. He complains, that whereas the *French* loved him for the likeness of his Humour, and took up Arms for him, and gave him Money, and applauded him; the *Antiochians* did the quite contrary: they said, That he turned the World up-side down, and that his Beard was fit to make Ropes of; and that he made

Amm. Marcel. l. 22.
*Post quæ multa in se
 facetæ dicta compers-
 ens coactus dissimu-
 lare pro tempore irâ
 sufflabatur internâ.*

Lib. 23. *Nondum
 irâ quam ex compel-
 lationibus & probris
 conceperat emollit à
 loquebatur aspersit
 se eos asserens postea
 non visurum.*

Vid. 8.
 Act. Con-
 cil. Chal-
 cedonen-
 sis.
 Theod. l. 3.
 c. 22.

War against *Chi*, and they wish'd for *Cappa* again. And after *Jeli-an* had written this Book, they were smart upon him again; and tho he was inwardly enrag'd, he was forc'd to dissemble it at the present. These things indeed were not said to his Face; but they

were the common talk of the Christians just under his Nose, while he lay with his Army about seven Months in that City, to be in

a readiness for the following Campaign. And he was so enraged at them, that at his departure, when some wish'd him a happy Expedition, and a glorious Return, he very roughly said, That he would never see them more, their Nick-names and reproaches stuck so in his

Stomach. But who commends them for this? Even that does no less a Man than *Theodoret*, who lived under two of the four first General Councils, and was himself present, and a great part of the last of them. He puts it all upon the score of their Zeal and Love for their Religion. His words are these; 'That the *Antiochians*, who 'had received their Christianity from the 'greatest

‘ greatest pair of Apostles, *Peter* and *Paul*,
 ‘ and had a warm Affection for the Lord
 ‘ and Saviour of all, did always abomi-
 ‘ nate *Julian*, who ought never to be re-
 ‘ membred, you have his own word for it.
 ‘ For, for this Reason, he writ a Book a-
 ‘ gainst them, and called them the *Beard-*
 ‘ *haters*.

2. They did not only thus scoff at him,
 and derided him behind his back; but they
 took the freedom to reproach him and his
 Religion to his Face; of which I shall give
 these two Instances. The first of a Noble
 Man of *Berea*; the story is very remarka-
 ble upon several accounts, which *Theodo-*
ret gives us in this manner. ‘ *Julian*, be-
 ‘ fore his Expedition against the *Persians*,
 ‘ sent to consult the Oracles, who promised
 ‘ him certain Victory. And after his Vi-
 ‘ story, he designed the ruin of the Christi-
 ‘ ans, and threatned to set up the Idol of
 ‘ *Venus* in the Christian Churches. March-
 ‘ ing on with these Threatnings, he was over-
 ‘ come by one single Man in *Berea*: This
 ‘ Man was indeed in other respects an emi-
 ‘ nent Person, for he was Governour there;
 ‘ but his Zeal made him more eminent. For
 ‘ seeing his Son warping towards the false
 ‘ Religion, which then prevailed, he turned
 ‘ him out of Doors, and publicly disinheri-
 ‘ ted him. But he coming to the Emperor,
 ‘ who was but one Stage from the City, de-
 ‘ clared to him, both his own Perswasion,
 ‘ and how his Father had disinherited him.
 ‘ *Julian* bid the young Man set his Heart
 ‘ at rest, promising that he would reconcile
 ‘ his Father to him. So when he came to
 ‘ *Berea*, he invited the Magistrates, and chief
 ‘ Men, to a feast, and amongst these was this
 ‘ young Man’s Father; and him, with his
 Son,

Theod. l. 3.
c. 18.

‘ Son, he ordered to sit next himself. And
 ‘ about the middle of Dinner, *Julian* says
 ‘ to the Father; In my mind it is not just to
 ‘ force a Man’s Judgment, which is other-
 ‘ wise inclined, and to reduce it, against his
 ‘ Will, to the other side. Therefore do not
 ‘ you force your Son, against his mind, to
 ‘ follow your Opinion. For neither do I
 ‘ force you to follow mine, although I can
 ‘ very easily compel you. But the Father,
 ‘ sharpening his Discourse with a Divine
 ‘ Faith, answered, O King, do you speak
 ‘ of this Villain, who is hated by God, and
 ‘ has preferr’d a Lie before the true Religi-
 ‘ on? But, says *Julian*, putting on again a
 ‘ Vizard of Meekness; Friend, leave Rail-
 ‘ ing; and, turning his Face to the young
 ‘ Man, he said, I will take care of you my
 ‘ self; since I have not prevailed with your
 ‘ Father to do it.

‘ I have not told this Story in vain, (says
 ‘ *Theodoret*) but was willing to shew, not
 ‘ only the admirable freedom of this Divine
 ‘ Person, but also that there were very many
 ‘ who despised *Julian*’s Power and Authori-
 ‘ ty. And that did *Maris* Bishop of *Chalcedon*,
 ‘ with a witness, long before. ‘ Being led by
 ‘ the hand, for he was blind, and in Years,
 ‘ he came to Court to the Emperor, when
 ‘ he was publickly sacrificing to *Fortune*,
 ‘ and reproach’d him much, calling him
 ‘ Impious, Apostate, and Atheist. And he
 ‘ reproach’d him again with his Blindness,
 ‘ and saying; Your *Galilaan* God will not
 ‘ cure you. But *Maris* replied to the Em-
 ‘ peror, with more Boldness, than before,
 ‘ says he, I thank God for striking me with
 ‘ Blindness, that I may not see thy Face,
 ‘ who art thus fallen into Impiety. The
 ‘ Emperor said nothing to this, but he per-
 ‘ secuted

Socrat. l. 3.

c. 10.

Sozom. l. 5.

c. 4.

‘scuted him grievously afterwards. And
 ‘the aged Bilhop, I suppose, had more
 ‘wit than to expect any other

It would be endless to reckon up the Say-
 ings of *Juventinus* and *Maximus*, whose
 Anniversary Sermon St. *Chrysostom* in his
 Time preach’d at *Antioch*; of those Soul-
 diers that were trapan’d into Sacrificing, by
 one of *Julian*’s Stratagems; and of many
 others, who did not spare him in the least:
 And therefore, in these Matters, the Rea-
 der must be satisfied with a taste only.

Theod. l. 3.

c. 14.

Chrysost.

Hom. 40.

Theod. l. 3.

c. 16.

CHAP. IV.

Their Actions.

HAVING shewed you, the manner at
 least, how they treated him in Words,
 I proceed now to some of their *Actions*,
 which make manifest their hatred to him,
 and how they held him in the very lowest
 degree of Contempt. I shall give but two
 Instances, and the first is the Story of *Valen-*
tinian, which *Theodore*t ushers in with this
 Preface: ‘And others, that were in places
 ‘of Dignity and Authority, using the like
 ‘boldness (as *Juventinus* and *Maximus*
 ‘did) enjoyed equal Crowns. For *Valen-*
tinian himself, who was afterwards Em-
 ‘peror, but was then a Colonel of the
 ‘Household Guards, did not hide the Zeal
 ‘which he had for the true Religion. For
 ‘when that Thunder-struck Mad-man went
 ‘in Procession to the Temple of *Fortune*, the
 ‘Chaplains stood on both sides of the Doors,
 ‘cleansing, as they counted it, with Sprink-
 ‘lings, or Holy Water, that those entred

Theod. l. 3.

c. 15.

in. But when *Valentinian*, who gained both Kingdoms, of Earth and Heaven, for what he now did, walking before the Emperor, saw this Holy Water coming near his Cloaths; he struck the Chaplain with his Fist, saying, that it would not cleanse, but defile him. *Julian* seeing what passed, sent him away to a Garison lying by a Desert, and gave order that there he should spend his days. But in a Year, and a few Months time, he was made Emperor, in reward of his Confession. For the Righteous Judge, not only rewards those that are concerned for Religion in the Life to come, but sometimes he presently gives them the recompence of their pious Labours, by these previous Gifts now, confirming the belief of those which Christians hope for hereafter.

You see how *Theodoret* magnifies this Action; and though it was so high a breach of the Peace, as might have cost him his right Hand, if not his Head, in many Courts; yet he makes him no less than a Confessor for it.

August.
de Civit.
l. 18. c. 52.

And so *St. Austin* calls him; '*Valentinian* was a Confessor of the Christian Faith under *Julian*, and lost his place in the Guards for it.

Our next Instance, is a Passage of as great a Man in his way, and that is, Old *Gregory* Bishop of *Nazianzum*, Father to *Gregory Nazianzen*. We have it in the Funeral Speech or Sermon of the Divine upon his Father's Death; and after he has said a great deal in his praise, he has these words: 'But I suppose that some of them, who knew his Life very well, have wondered a good while, that I should be so taken up in these things aforesaid, as if I had

Greg.
Naz. O.
rat. 19. p.
307.

' had nothing else in commendation of him ;
 ' and that I should make no mention of the
 ' difficulty of the Times, against which he
 ' seemed to have been set in battel array.
 ' Come on then, and let me add these things
 ' to what has been said. Our Age bore such
 ' an Evil, as no Age did before, and I sup-
 ' pose none will hereafter, an Emperor that
 ' was an Apostate, both from God and Rea-
 ' son, who thought it a small Business to
 ' conquer the *Persians*, but a great Work to
 ' reduce the *Christians*. And the Devils
 ' that drove him, perswading him to it, he
 ' omitted no manner of Impiety, by Per-
 ' suasions, by Threatnings, Sophistry, draw-
 ' ing over to him, not only those that he
 ' gained by Artifices, but those also which
 ' he forced by Violence. Now who is there
 ' to be found that more despised this Empe-
 ' ror, or had a greater hand in destroying
 ' him, than my Father ? Of his contempt
 ' of him, amongst many other, both those
 ' Archers, and their Commander, are a
 ' proof, whom he brought against our
 ' Church ; as either to take possession of it,
 ' or to destroy it : For having assaulted ma-
 ' ny others, he came hither likewise with
 ' the same intent, and imperiously demand-
 ' ed the Temple. He so far failed of accom-
 ' plishing any thing of what he desired ; that
 ' if he had not presently got out of my Fa-
 ' ther's way, (being aware of it, either of
 ' himself, or by some Bodies advice) he
 ' might have gone away kick'd ; The Bi-
 ' shop boyling with Anger against him, and
 ' with Zeal for the Temple.

I have had more trouble with this Pas-
 sage, than with all the rest in the Book.
 For I have often tried to make this beating
 intended for the Captain of the Archers, and

have been ready to make *Solacisms* in the Greek, to avoid the greater *Solacism* of an Emperor of the World, awed and terrified with the fear of a kicking. But it will not do: it is too late for me to consult *Julian's* Honour, or to alter *Gregory's* words.

And that you may be satisfied this is the sense of them, I have here set down the Comment of a Metropolitan of *Crete*, who was a better Grecian than I ever expect to be.

Elia Cre-
tensis
Com-
ment. in
locum.

Ac contemptionis, præter multa alia, documento quoq; sunt sagittarii illi & Dux eorum, quos impius ille adversus Ecclesias concitabat, tanquam scilicet eas aut assumpturum & subacturum, aut eversum ac deleturum. Cum quibus scilicet omnibus nihil eorum, quæ cupiebat, perfecit, in tale Ecclesia propugnaculum incidens, quin potius, nisi quam primum ipsi cessisset (nimirum vel ipse per se intelligens vel alium quendam consultorem audiens) etiam pedibus contusus abisset, eo nimirum vehementiore quodam adversi eum Divino Zelo commoto. Ergo contemptionis quidem luculentum hoc Argumentum est.

Here you have the description of one of the Lachrymists of old, who at four score and ten, and after he had been thirty five Years a Bishop, was an Over-match for a Pagan Emperor; and having vanquish'd him, and won the Field, kept it as long as he lived, which was about nine Years after *Julian's* Death. And which is more than that, The Garlands and Trophies of this Victory are hung up in the Church by the hands of another Bishop, to satisfy the Expectation of a number of good Christian People, *Basil* the Great assisting at the Ceremony.

And

And now know I no more than the Pope of *Rome*, what to make of all this, what they meant by it, or upon what Principles these Men proceeded. Whether the Laws of their Country allowed them (which I am sure the Laws of our Country do not allow a Man to imagine) to offer Violence to their lawful Emperor; or whether old *Gregory* distinguish'd, and did not resist *Julian*, but only the Devil, which his Son so often tells us was in him; Or how it was, I will never stand guessing. Only this we may be assured of, that none of these Bishops had ever been in *Scotland*, nor had learn'd to fawn upon an Apostate, and a mortal Enemy to their Religion.

CHAP. V.

Their Devotions. And first of their Psalms

THESE Passages which we have hitherto related, were in common conversation, in the Streets and Market-place, in the Court and abroad in the World; where the Christians might chance not to have their Religion about them, and so shew themselves Men of like Passions with other Men; but when they go to Church, and enter upon Holy Ground; or whenever they make their Addresses to God in Prayers and Praises, there one may expect to see the flights of their self-denying and suffering Religion. There one may justly expect they should lay aside all their Animosity against *Julian*, though he were their Enemy, and for that reason pray the harder for him. Yes, so they do, the wrong way; they cannot sing a Psalm, but they make

His Confusion the Burden of it. And as they order the Matter, their Prayers and Tears are the Arms of the Church indeed, for they are Darts, and Arrows, and Fire-brands, and Death. If moving all the Power, and solliciting all the Vegeance of Heaven against a Man; if calling for the Sword, and the Plagues of *Egypt*, be praying for their Pagan Emperor, they give him enough of that; as you shall see anon in their own words.

I shall begin with their Psalms, which I shall set down so, as not to omit the Circumstances I find with them.

Theod.
lib 3. cap.
9 and 10.

'*Julian* ordered the Christians to remove
'the Bones of *Babylas*, and of the young
'Men who were martyr'd with him, from
'*Daphne*, where *Apollon's* Temple stood.
'Who gladly went and fetch'd the Coffin;
'and all the People went dancing before it,
'and singing *David's* Psalms; repeating
'after every Verse, *Confounded be all they*
'*that worship graven Images!* *Julian* not
'bearing the Disgrace which was hereby
'put upon him, the next day commanded
'the Leaders of this Dance to be apprehended.
'*Salustius* the Governor, who
'was himself an Heathen, dissuaded the
'Emperor from it; but when he saw that
'*Julian* could not contain his Passion, he
'went and seized the first which came to
'hand; which was *Theodorus*, a young
'Man, adorned with Divine Zeal, walking in
'the Market-place: Him he tortured from
'Morning to Night, with so much Cruelty,
'and so many fresh Executioners, as no Age
'has mentioned the like. And when he was
'upon the Wrack, and a Torturer plying him
'on either side, he did nothing but sing o-
'ver again that Psalm, which the Congre-
'gation

gation sung the day before, with an unconcerned and chearful Countenance. This made *Ruffinus*, who likewise tells this Story, afterwards ask him whether he felt any pain? *Ruffinus*, lib. 1. c. 36.
Who said, that he felt a little, but there stood by him a certain Youth, who all the while wiped off his Sweat with a very white Linnen Cloth; and often poured cold Water upon him, which so delighted him, that he was sorry when he was taken off the Wrack. For when *Salustius* saw that he had spent all that Cruelty upon him to no purpose, he put Fetters upon him, and kept him in Prison. But he was soon released, and no Body else punish'd upon that account. *Julian* it seems did not care to have that Psalm any oftner repeated; which he might very reasonably expect, when so much Cruelty could not make a Youth to alter his Note.

To this I shall only add, what *Theodoret* calls it, a memorable Story of an incomparable Woman: For even the Women (says he) despised this Man's madness, being armed with Divine Zeal. Her Name was *Publia*, and she was Mother to *John*; who was often chosen to be Bishop of *Antioch*, but as often refused it. This Woman being a Widow, had a Quire of Virgins, which promised Virginity for Life, and was always singing Praises to God her Creator and Redeemer. And when the Emperor passed by, they sung their Psalms the louder, accounting him fit to be despised and derided. Now they sung, for the most part, those Psalms, which expose the weakness of Idols; and they said with *David*, *The Idols of the Heathen are Silver and Gold, the Work of Men's Hands*. And after they had shewed the
C. 4. senseless.

Theod. l. 3. c. 17.

' senseless of them, they added ; *Let them*
 ' *that make them, be like unto them, and*
 ' *all those that put their trust in them !* He
 ' hearing these things, was grievously vexed,
 ' and commanded them to be silent at such
 ' time as he passed by. But she, little re-
 ' garding his Laws, put more courage into
 ' her Quire ; and when he past by again,
 ' she bid them sing this Psalm, *Let God a-*
 ' *rise, and let his Enemies be scattered !*
 ' *Julian*, in great indignation, commanded
 ' the Mistress of the Quire to be brought
 ' to him ; and when he saw her venerable
 ' Age, he neither had any compassion for
 ' her Years, nor honoured her Vertue, but
 ' commanded one of the Souldiers to strike
 ' her on the Face, till he made it all bloody
 ' with his hands. She receiving this Dis-
 ' grace, as the highest Honour, went back
 ' to her House ; but she still shot him with
 ' her Spiritual Songs as she was wont.

Now here indeed is a Suffering Religion,
 because the old Woman does not beat the
 Souldier ; but I cannot possibly find out a-
 ny profound Primitive Obedience in this
 passage. Where is the Reverence due to Ma-
 jesty, or Eternity, as Emperors were then
 stiled, in courting him fit to be made a
 Laughing-stock ? What dutifulness was
 there shewn, in refusing to comply with so
 reasonable a Command, as to forbear their
 Psalms only when he went by ? But it was
Julian, and they did not owe him so much
 Service. They say, Rage turns every thing
 into Weapons, and there seems to be some
 quantity of that Passion here, when their
 very Devotions are so plainly aimed and
 level'd at *Julian's* Head.

CHAP. VI.

Their Prayers and Tears.

I Come now to their *Prayers and Tears*, of which *Gregory* gives us a large account. He says, They followed *Hezekiah's* Example, who applied himself to God against *Senacherib* with good success. And he insinuates, that they had more reason to do it, because they had no other way to help themselves. Thus did *Hezekiah*, who had great Forces about him, who was King of the great City *Jerusalem*, who perhaps might have beat off that numerous Enemy by himself. But we who had no other Weapon, nor Wall, nor any other Defence left us but our hope in God, as being altogether deprived and cut short of all humane Aid: Whom else could we have, either to hear our Prayers, or to prevent what was threatned, but God, who swears against the Pride of *Jacob*? And presently after he gives us an Account of those Cries which they sent up to God, in some of them invoking him as a Lord and Master, in others complaining as to a kind Father, in others again, as if they upbraided and expostulated with him, as Men in trouble use to do; *O God, why hast thou rejected us for ever; why is thy Wrath so hot against the Sheep of thy Pasture? Lift up thy Hands against their Pride, &c. We challenged the Sword, and the Plagues of Egypt; and we besought him to judge his own Cause; and we urged him, that he would at length rise up against the Wicked. How long shall the Ungodly, how long shall the Ungodly boast? And withall, we used*

*Invest. 2.
p. 123.*

‘those sorrowful and more proper Expressions, *Thou hast made us a By-word and Reproach unto our Neighbours. We mentioned the Vine out of Egypt, destroyed by the wild Boar, that wicked One, who made wickedness his own, and was all over polluted with the Mire of it.* Hitherto Gregory speaks in the plural Number, as if others had joyned in these Prayers with him: Nevertheless, because he says afterwards, *These were my former Thoughts and Cries to God,* it is possible they were his own private Devotions. However it is very evident, that their publick Devotions ran in the same strain.

In the formentioned Oration, at his Father’s Funeral, you may remember that Gregory praises him for his contempt of *Julian*, of which we gave you an account before; and for contributing to his destruction. Concerning which he has these following words.

*Orat. 19.
p. 307, 308*

Βαλλων.

‘And as for his Destruction, How can any one appear to have done more towards it than my Father? Either in publick, striking the Villain with the joint Prayers and Supplications of all the People together, and not at all fearing the Times; or in private, drawing forth his nightly Squadron against him; I mean, his lying upon the Ground, where he wore out his old Flesh, and watered the Floor with his Tears, for almost a whole Year together.

In this place he does not specify what those publick Prayers were which they had for *Julian*, but he sufficiently describes them.

First, They were such as tended to his Destruction, and were a means of it.

2dly, They darted these Prayers at him. It is exprest by a word, which might more properly be employed to describe the throwing

ing of that Javelin, which afterwards stuck in his Liver.

3dly, The nightly Squadron mentioned alter, confirms us, that with these they fought him by day.

And, 4thly, They were such Prayers as exposed old *Gregory* to a great deal of danger; but he did not fear the Times a crumb.

If ever the Christians were in cold Blood, sure they were at old *Gregory's* Funeral, for it was several Years after *Julian's* Death: And yet you see, that even then his opposition to *Julian* serves to embalm his Memory. It was thought to be so much for his honour, to help to pray *Julian* to Death, that a great part of the Congregation had been disappointed, if no mention had been made of it; as appears plainly from the Preface to this Passage before cited. So that in that Age the best Prayers and Tears were those, which did best execution upon an Apostate Emperor, and contributed most to his destruction. Which now follows to be spoken of in the next Chapter.

CHAP. VII.

Julian's Death.

After *Julian* had reigned about nineteen Months, which the Christians thought very much too long, he met with an untimely Death, and they with the answer of their Prayers. For when he had been some time in *Persia*, his Army being suddenly attacked by the *Persians*, he made so much haste from place to place to relieve those Troops which were most hotly engaged, that he forgot his Armour; and while

Ambr.
Marc. l.
25. ad in.

he thus exposed himself, he was struck with an Horse-man's Spear, which pierced his Side, and stuck in the bottom of his Liver; of which Wound, about midnight, he died.

And that the Christians might have this good News the sooner, as Historians tell us, it was conveyed to some of them by Miracle.

Theod. 1. 3.

c. 19.

'A Christian School-master at *Antioch*, who was ask'd in derision, by *Libanius*, *Julian's* great Master, What the Carpenter's Son was doing? being filled with Divine Grace, foretold what would shortly come to pass. For, says he, the Creator of the World, whom you in derision have called *Carpenter's Son*, is makings a Coffin. And in a few days after came the news of that wicked Wretch's Death.

Which was likewise revealed in as extraordinary a manner to *St. Julian Sabba*. Who having understood the Threatnings of that wicked One against the Christians, did more diligently offer up his Prayers to the God of the whole World. And on that day the Emperor was killed, this Person being at Prayers knew, of it; although he was more than twenty days Journeys off. For, they say, as he was supplicating the merciful and compassionate Lord, on a sudden he stop'd the current of his Tears, and was filled with Joy, which discovered it self in the chearfulness of his Countenance. They that conversed with him, seeing this change in him, desired to know the occasion of it. And he told them, that the wild Bore, the Enemy of the Lord's Vineyard, had suffered the punishment of his Faults, and lay dead, having done designing. When they heard these things, they all fell a dancing, and offered up to God an Hymn of Thanksgiving. And they understood, by those that brought

‘brought advice of his Death, that it was
 ‘the same day, and the same hour, in which
 ‘this Divine old Man, both knew the Wretch
 ‘to be slain, and spoke of it before-hand.

And thus the News, as fast as it arrived,
 was every-where entertained with all the
 demonstrations of joy and gladness. His
 old Friends, ‘The *Antiochians*, as soon as
 ‘they heard of his Death, kept Feasts, and
 ‘publick joyful Meetings; and they not on-
 ‘ly had Dances in their Churches and
 Chappels of the Martyrs, but likewise in
 ‘their Theatre they proclaimed the Victory
 ‘of the Cross, crying aloud, with one Voice,
 ‘*God and his Christ have gotten the Victory.*
 In a word, the whole Church sung Songs of
 Triumph, as St. *Ferome* tells us, in his
 Comment upon the third of *Habakkuk*.

Theod. ib.
c. 22.

Because it was not known who threw that
 Spear which killed him, it gave occasion to
 variety of Reports. ‘Some say he was kil-
 ‘led by a *Persian*; but the more general
 ‘and prevailing Report, is, That he was
 ‘kill’d by one of his own Souldiers; as
 ‘*Socrates’s words are.* But *Callistus*, who
 ‘was then in *Julian’s* Service, and has
 ‘given us the History of that War in Hero-
 ‘ick Verse, says, it was a *Demon* that did
 ‘it. Which it may be he feigned as a Poet,
 ‘and it may be was the truth of the Matter,
 ‘for the Furies have punished very many.
 And so *Theodoret* after him. ‘Who it was
 ‘that struck that just stroak, no Body knows
 ‘to this day. But whether it was Man or
 ‘Angel that thrust the Weapon, it is plain
 ‘that he who did it, was the Minister of the
 ‘Divine Appointment and Direction.

Socrat l. 3.
c. 21.

Theod. l. 3.
c. 20.

But *Libanius* the Sophist, whom *Julian*
 in his Letters to him, calls his *Dearest Bro-*
ther, is resolved to find out the Man that
 kill’d.

Sozom. l.
6. c. 1.

Ib. cap. 2.

χολῇ γὰρ
αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐ-
τὸν μέμ-
ψαίτο.

Sozom.
dedicat.
Eccl. Hist.

kill'd his good Friend; and thus he traces him. 'Does any one desire to know the Man that kill'd him? I know not his Name; but that he was none of the Enemy, this is a clear proof, that no Body among the *Persians* was rewarded for that Blow. Although the King of *Persia* made proclamation of rewarding him that kill'd him, yet no Body was tempted by the Reward to brag that he did it. And we are beholden to our Enemies, that they would not assume the Glory of those things which they did not do, but have allowed us to seek for the Murderer amongst our selves. Now his Life was not for their profit, who did not live according to his Laws, and had long plotted against him, and having then an opportunity, put it in execution. And *Libanius* writing after this fashion, insinuates, that he who kill'd *Julian* was a Christian; which it may be (says the Historian) was true. This is a strange Concession, but you will more wonder that he should justify such a Traiterous Assassination, and yet he does in the following words. 'For it is not improbable, that some one of the Souldiers might take into consideration, how the Heathens, and all Men to this day, do still praise those who long since have killed Tyrants, as Men that were willing to die for the Common Liberty, and defended in that manner their Country-men, Kinsmen, and Friends. And you can hardly blame him, who shews himself so courageous for God, and for that Religion which he approves. And it is another wonder to me, that this strange Doctrine should be dedicated to *Theodosius* the younger, an Emperor, who in less than fifty Years after, sat upon the very

very same Throne that *Julian* did.

And now we have brought *Julian* to his Grave, it may reasonably be expected, that there the Christians should let him rest in quiet, and let fall their Quarrel when their Enemy was gone. Which whether they did or no, shall be shewn in the next Chapter.

CHAP. VIII.

How they used his Memory.

TO make amends for their dry Eyes at *Julian's* Funeral, the Christians spared neither pains nor cost to erect Pillars and Monuments to his Memory, *Gregory* gives us the Description of that stately one, which he reared for him; speaking to *Julian*; 'This Pillar we erect for you, which is higher and more conspicuous than *Hercules's* Pillars. For they are fixed in one place, and are only to be seen by those that come thither; but this being a moveable one, cannot chuse but be known every where, and by all Men; which I am sure will last to future Ages, branding thee and thy Actions, and warning all others not to attempt any such Rebellion against God, lest doing the like things, they fare alike. And I think he has made an Example of him.

Inveſt. 2.
p. 134.

For let any one read the Inscription of this Monument, and he will bless himself to see what Titles of Honour are bestowed upon him. 'Thou Persecutor next to *Herod*, 'thou Traitor next to *Judas*, (only thou hast not testified thy Repentance, by hanging thy self, as he did) and Killer of Christ after *Pilate*, and next to the Jews, thou

Inveſt. 1.
p. 76.

Pag. 16.

'hater

‘Hater of God. He calls him Murderer, Enemy, and Avenger, &c. And all the Ecclesiastical Historians do the like.

But I am weary of ripping up the reproachful and ignominious Titles, which the Christians Tongues being unfettered, as *Gregory’s* Expression is, and the great facility of compounding Greek words have lavishly bestowed upon him. And after all, they lodg him in Hell, and there they leave him. Says *St. Chrysostom*, ‘Where

Invest. 2.
p. 132.

Chrysost.
Hom. de
S. Hiero-
martyre
Babyla.

p. 723.

In the
Preface to
his Cata-
logus of
Eccles.
Writers.

‘is the Emperor that threatned these things? He is lost and destroyed, and now he is in Hell, undergoing endless Punishment.

What Protestants ever treated their worst Persecutors at this rate? Who ever called *Queen Mary, mad Bitch*, as *St. Jerome* does *Julian, mad Dog*? No, the Courtesy of *England* has been shewn, even to that treacherous and bloody Woman, who deserved as ill of the Christian Religion, as ever *Julian* did, which I hope to make very plain by and by.

In the mean time it will be necessary to make some Reflections upon this strange and unexpected Behaviour of the Primitive Christians.

CHAP. IX.

Reflections on the Behaviour of these Christians.

Invest. 1.
p. 53.

J*ulian’s* Persecution was but a flea-biting to what the Christians had formerly felt; it was but a short and weak assault of the Devil, as *Gregory* calls it; and for that reason,

reason, he very much bewails the Sin of all those that withered away, when there was no greater heat of Temptation. 'If Men
'sell away from Christianity, they were ridiculous-
'ly overcome, (as St. *Chrysostom* expresses it); and if they persevered, it
'was no such great matter to quit a Trade
'or Profession for their Religion. Which was the Case of the discarded School-masters,
and Physicians, and Souldiers, and was the greatest severity of all *Julian's* Edicts. He
was, if we will speak properly, rather a Tempter than a Persecutor; 'for some he
'seduced with Money, others with Places of
'Trust, others with Promises, others with
'Honours of all sorts, which he exposed in
'all Mens sight, not like a King, but in a
'very servile manner; and others again he
'won by the witchcraft of his words, and by
'his own Example. He wrought upon Men's
Covetousness and Ambition, more than upon their Fear; and that with so good success, that St. *Asterius* says, 'It verifies the
'saying of *Paul*, a Preacher of Truth, that
'Covetousness is Idolatry. And as for what he designed against the Christians, it was far short of what other Emperors had executed. And yet how do the Christians treat this Emperor! One would take Them to be the Apostates; one while reproaching him, ruffling with him, and vexing every Vein in his Royal Heart; another while saying all their Prayers backwards, and calling down Vengeance upon his Head; after that, dancing and leaping for joy at his Death, and insulting over his Memory. But for the name of Christians, he had better have fallen amongst Barbarians. And yet he often put them in mind of their Christianity too: He told them, when they complained

Chrysost.
Hom. 40.
de SS. Juv.
& Max.
mox abi-
nit.

Greg. O-
rat. 10 in
Caesar. p.
167.

Homil. 3.
cont. A-
rianism. Bi-
blioth. Pa-
trum Co-
lon. p. 704.

Socrat. l. 3.
c. 14.

Greg. In-
vect. 1. p.
94, 95.

of any Oppression ; ' It is your part, when
' you are ill used, to bear it, for this is the
' Commandment of your God. But they
' flurt at him for this, and say, He makes a
' very wise Speech, and this he remembers
' since he was Reader ; and he should have
' read on, and not skip'd over that Passage,
' The wicked Man shal be miserably destroy-
' ed, such a one as denies God, and which
' is more, vexes those that persevere in the
' Confession of him. They ask, How or
' where that Right is that they should suffer
' and bear it, and that the Heathens should
' not spare those, who when time was spared
' them ? They call him by the bloodiest
Names of the Devil, for taking advantage
of the Christian Doctrine in this Particular,
which says, ' We must not avenge our selves,
' nor go to Law, &c. nor render Evil for
' Evil, but pray for, and wish well to those
' who injure and persecute us. And in con-
clusion, they come with their Distinctions,
and tell him, ' That he must not think to
' drive all Men up to the top and pinnacle of
' Vertue. For there are several commands
' in the Gospel, (which are no more than
' Counsels of Perfection) which bring ho-
' nour and reward to them that keep them,
' but to those that do not keep them, no
' manner of danger at all. Is not this the
right course to interpret and gloss away all
their Duty ? In a word, they seem to have
broke all the Measures by which all the An-
cient and Suffering Christians have gone in
all former Persecutions.

The plain truth of the Matter is this ;
Their Case differed very much, and they
were in quite other Circumstances than
the first Christians were. When *Julian*
came to the Crown, he found them in full
and

and quiet possession of their Religion, which they had enjoy'd without interruption for almost fifty Years, and which was so inestimable a Blessing, that they had plainly undervalued it, if they had not done their utmost to keep it. And then to have this Treasure wrested out of their hands, by one that had been bred up in the Bosom of the Church, who profess'd himself a Christian, and never pull'd off his Masque, till it was too late for them to help themselves; this was enough to raise, not only all their Zeal, but all their Indignation too. Whereas the poor Primitive Christians of all, were born to Persecution, they neither knew better, nor expected it. They professed their new Religion, as in some places the propounded new Laws, with an Haltar about their Necks. The Laws of the Empire were always in force against them, though not always put in execution; and the edge of the Ax stood always towards them, though it were not at all times stained with their Blood.

In a word, they perpetually lay at the Mercy of their Enemies: their Religion at the best was in the VWorld but upon sufferance, as *Abraham* was in the Land of *Canaan*; where he had none Inheritance, no not so much as to set his foot on. But as his afflicted Posterity were afterwards Lords of that Country, so after another Egyptian Bondage, Christianity was advanced to be the established Religion of the Empire. It is worth the while to read *Eusebius*, only to see in what a transport of joy the Christians were, upon that happy Revolution. The Christian World at that time, was the very Picture of Heaven. Such joy there will be again amongst good Men, when they have

Acts 7. 5.

Invest. I.
p. 64.

have cross'd the tempestuous Sea of this VWorld, and are safely landed in the Regions of Light and Immortality. For what Gregory says of *Constantius*, was true of many others; 'Never any Man in this VWorld set his Heart so much upon any other thing, as he did to see the Christians flourish, and to have all the advantages of Glory and Power. And neither conquered Nations, nor a well-govern'd Empire, nor great Treasures, nor excess of Glory, nor being King of Kings, nor being stiled so, nor all other things, which make up other Men's Notion of happiness, did delight him so much, as to have the honour of bringing Honour to the Christians, and of leaving them establish'd for ever in the possession of Power and Authority. And Men that valued the establishment of their Religion at this Rate, would not easily part with it. Now for *Julian*, who by his Baptism first, and by entering into Orders after, and by his going to Church after that, sufficiently engaged himself to maintain Christianity, to endeavour on the other hand to dispossess them of their Free-hold, was an insupportable injury.

Is there no difference, I appeal to all the VWorld, between being turn'd out as Sheep among VVolves, which was the deplorable, but unavoidable case of the first Christians, and being worried by one of their own Flock? Has a Man no more Right nor Priviledg after he is naturalized, than when he was a Stranger, or Alien, or accounted an Enemy? Do not the same Laws, which forbid Men to invade other Men's Rights, enable them notwithstanding to maintain and defend their own? These are the plain and

and palpable differences between the State of the first Christians, and of those under *Julian*.

To sum up all in one word; The first Christians suffered according to the Laws of their Country, whereas these under *Julian* were persecuted contrary to Law. For it is manifest that *Julian* oppressed them in a very illegal way. He did not fairly enact Sanguinary Laws against them for their Religion, but he put them to Death upon Shams, and pretended Crimes of Treason and Sacriledg. He dressed up an Accusation of Treason against *Juveninus* and *Maximus*; and though they died for their generous Zeal, and hearty Concernment for Christianity, he gave out, and commanded it to be noised abroad, That they were punish'd for Treasonable words.

Theod. l. 3.
c. 14.

The other sham of Sacriledg St. *Chrysostom* acquaints us with in these words: 'If any one, in former Times, when Godly Kings had the Government, had either broken their Altars, thrown down their Temples, taken away their Oblations, or done any such thing, he was presently hurried away to the Tribunal; and sometimes the Innocent were executed, when they were only accused. The truth of which *Julian* himself confirms in his own Writings; where he says, 'Let no Man distrust the Gods, when he hears how some have done despite to Images and Temples. For have not many slain good Men, such as *Socrates*, and *Dion*, and the great *Empe-
docleimus*, which I am well assured were much more the Care of the Gods than their Images are? But they have afterward punish'd their Murderers; and this likewise has manifestly happened in our Time,

Hom. de
SS. Juvent
& Max.
moX ab
init.

Frag-
ment. *Ju-
lian*. p.
540.

to

‘to those that were Robbers of Temples: And besides all this, by his connivance and encouragement, he let loose the rage and fury of the Heathens upon them, as I shew’d before. And therefore *Gregory*, all over his *Invectives*, charges him with Tyranny, and often calls him Tyrant. So that the same Men, who would quietly have submitted to the Laws, under a *Nero* or a *Dioclesian*, do nevertheless pursue *Julian*, as if he were a Mid-night Thief, or a High-way Robber.

Bracton. l. 1. c. 2.
*Leges cum fuerint
 approbata consensu
 utentium & Sacra-
 mento Regum con-
 firmata mutari non
 possunt nec destrui si-
 ne communi consen-
 su & consilio eorum
 omnium quorum con-
 silio & consensu fue-
 runt promulgata;*

As for us, who, blessed be God, have our Religion settled by such Laws as cannot be altered without our own consent, we cannot better express our thankfulness for so great a Blessing, than by living up to this Holy Religion, and resolving to keep it. For surely it is not of the Essence of the Gospel, to be a Suffering Religion, that is an evil Circumstance, which attends it only in bad Times; it is a Reigning Religion amongst us, and I hope will never be otherwise while the World stands. And therefore I much wonder at those Men, who trouble the Nation at this time of the day, with the unreasonable prescriptions of Prayers and Tears, and the Passive Obedience of the *Theban* Legion, and such-like last Remedies, which are proper, only at such a Time as the Laws of our Country are armed against our Religion. What have we to do with the *Theban* Legion? Blessed be God, who has made the difference! but I ask again, What have we to do with their Example? Are we to Sacrifice, or go to Mass to Morrow, or else
to

to have our Throats cut? Are we under the Sentence of Death, according to the Laws of our Country, if we do not presently renounce our Religion? Poor Men, they were! and though they died as glorious Martyrs, in respect of their Religion, yet they died as Criminals, and Malefactors, in the Eye of the Law. I hope many good Protestants would make a shift to die for their Religion, though it may be not with the gallantry that these Souldiers did, if they were in the like sad Circumstances, and had the Laws against them; but till then, they throw away their Lives, and are certainly weary of them, if they practise any such Passive Obedience. And the truth is, we justly deserve to be so used, as the *Theban* Legion was, and moreover to be loaded with the Curses of all Posterity, if we suffer our selves to be brought into that condition. For that can never happen, but by our own Treachery to our Religion, in parting with those good Laws which protect it, and in agreeing to such as shall destroy it.

VWhen a Man is condemned by God and his Country, in a due course of Law, it is time for him to die, and he ought willingly to submit to the Laws of the Land, (for every Man enjoys the benefit and protection of them upon those terms; and *Job* lays down a great Rule of Equity, when he asks, Shall we receive Good things at the Hand of God, and not likewise Evil?) But if a Man be illegally assaulted, in the way of Violence and Assassination, he may use all lawful Remedies to defend himself.

Inveſt. I.
Chryſoſt.
Hom. μετὰ
ἀνεξίτη-
τας. Vol.
2. p. 1015.

I Epiſt.
I chap.
verſ. 6.

It is a currant Notion among the Fathers, that we ought to spare our Persecutors, and not suffer them to be guilty of Murder. Gregory gives that as a very good reason of Marcus's flight from *Arethusa*. And St. Chrysostom introduces David, speaking after this manner, when he fled from *Saul*, and as the Scripture tells us, had *Goliath's* great Sword with him, and put himself into a posture of Defence: *It is better for me to be miserable, and to suffer more hardships, than that Saul should be condemned by God for the Murder of an Innocent Person.* And that he meant no more, than only to prevent the effusion of Innocent Blood, appears by the several Opportunities, he had to have cut off *Saul*, but the sense of his Duty made him abhor the least thought of it. He only sought his own safety and preservation, which he could not abandon, without being necessary to *Saul's* murdering of him. There is no question, but it is every Man's Duty to prevent the murder of any Innocent Person, and especially of himself, by all the ways and means, which the Laws of God, and of his Country, do allow; and if he do not, he is a kind of *Felo de se*, and guilty of his own Murder. We are to suffer Persecution (εἰ δέον ἐστὶ) if need be, as St. Peter's words are, and not else. Now I humbly conceive, being the VVrit, *de Hæretico Comburendo* is taken away in time, and the Laws protect us in our Religion, that it will be a very needless thing to go to *Smithfield*, and there be burnt for an Heretick.

And

And so far it is fit to inform the Popish Crew (for we have no apprehensions of Persecution from any other Quarter) lest they should be mistaken in the good Protestant Religion of our good Church, as *Coleman* calls it in his Declaration. No doubt they would bestow more good words upon us, if we would be all Passive Protestants; for then the fewer active Papists would serve to dispatch us. But most men are satisfied, that Archbishop *Abbot's* Doctrine was much more the good Protestant Religion of our good Church, than Dr. *Sibthorp's*; and that Dr. *Manwaring* was Orthodox when he Recanted, but by no means when he preached his *Pulpit Law*. For that name the Great and Loyal Lord *Faulkland*, long before the War broke out, was pleased to bestow upon such mischievous flattery; which he then complained had almost ruined the Nation, and it can never be good for any thing else in any Age. And yet the Arbitrary Doctrine of those Times did not bring any great terror along with it, it was then but a Rake, and served only to scrape up a little paltry Passive Money from the Subject, but now it is become a Murdering piece, loaden with no body knows how many Bullets. And that the Patrons of it may not complain that it is an exploded Doctrine, as if Men only hooted at it, but could not answer it, I shall stay to speak a little more to it.

'Tis true, this Doctrine cannot discover its malignity under his Majesty's Gracious Reign, which God prolong and prosper, who has been pleased to give the Nation the security of his Coronation Oath, which we know all Protestant Princes value and

look upon as Sacred, and likewise of many Gracious Promises, that He will govern according to Law. But in case we should be so sharply punished for our Sins, as to fall under a Popish Successor, then this Bloody Doctrine will have the opportunity to shew it self in its own Colours, and we may then see, and it may be, feel the sting of it.

For, *first*, I suppose these Men will allow a Popish Successor, when he is in possession, to be a *Lawful Magistrate*; because, according to them, it is not lawful, no not for the King and Parliament, to exclude him.

2. I suppose that this Lawful Magistrate will *persecute* Protestants; for by so doing, he does God and the Church good Service, he merits Heaven; he cannot better testify the truth and reality of his Conversion: Nay, if he does not persecute Hereticks with Fire and Sword, he lies at the Pope's Mercy to have his Kingdom taken from him; and further, he is in danger to be so served, as the two *Henries of France* were. However, because some Persons are so happy as to believe that he will not *persecute*! no; he will protect the Church of *England* as it is now established by Law, and be a Mighty Defender of the Faith; I shall be contented with what every Body must grant, that he *may persecute*, that the thing is possible.

3. In this case all Protestants cannot *fly*, they will not be all in travelling case; and if they were, the Ports may be stop'd, the *Writ ne exeas Regnum* may be serv'd upon them; and besides, many may be persuaded that they ought not to *fly*, and leave their Native Country naked and defenceless,

less, and expose it to a Conquest; they may likewise believe it a thing of very ill Consequence, *perdere Patriam*, which no Man in *England* is bound to do.

4. Now we are taught in this Case, That if Men do not over-run their Country, there is nothing but *Death* or *Damnation* at home; or, as it is in their own words. 'Nei-
'ther doth the Gospel prescribe any Re-
'medy but flight, against the Persecutions
'of the lawful Magistrate, allowing of no
'other mean, when we cannot escape be-
'twixt denying, and dying for the Faith. P. 8.

What the Gospel prescribes is one thing, what it allows is another; there are ten thousand things allowed by the Gospel, not one of which is prescribed by it, indite-ments, Appeals, suing for Tythes; in a word, all humane Constitutions, which are not morally Evil. But it seems the Gospel does not so much as allow any mean, when we cannot escape by flight, betwixt denying and dying for the Faith. As for denying the Faith, that is down-right Destruction, both of Body and Soul, and therefore is not to be thought of, as being the far greater extremity of the two. And so welcome Death! But by what Law must we die? Not by any Law of God surely, for being of that Religion which he approves, and would have all the World to embrace, and to hold fast to the end. Nor by the Laws of our Country, where Protestantism is so far from being Criminal that it is Death to desert it and to turn Papist. By what Law then? By none that I know of, but Parasites, Sycophants, & Murderers may. For it is plain, that every Protestant, who is persecuted to death in these Circumstances,

is barbarously murdered. If they can tell us therefore, who it is, in that Case, that shall have authority to commit open, barefaced, and down right murders, they will then direct us where to pay our Passive Obedience. It would be the horridest slander in the World, to say, that any such Power is lodged in the Prerogative as to destroy men contrary to Law. The Prerogative is no such boundless bottomless Pit of Arbitrary power and self will, but it is limited, stated, and certain, and as well known as other parts of the Law; and it is fit it should be so, that the Subject may not offend against it. It is the Glory of the Crown, and is intended to be for the Benefit, Quiet, and Safety of the people, to save innocent Lives, and not to destroy them. There is no authority upon Earth above the Law, much less against it; and that this Doctor might have seen, if he had pleased to have read on in that very Chapter of Bracton, which he makes use of without citing the place. What he says concerning the King is very true, and readily acknowledged by every English man; *Omnis sub eo est, & ipse sub nullo, nisi tantum sub Deo.* Bracton does not barely assert it, but he shews the reason of it in these words; *Parem autem non habet in Regno suo, quia sic amitteret preceptum, cum par in parem non habet imperium. Item nec multo fortius superiorem, nec potentiores, habere debet.* So in another place, *Rex parem non habet, nec vicinum, nec superiorem.* He likewise often uses these expressions, *Rex est Vicarius Dei. Dei Minister & Vicarius.* But Lib. 2. cap. 24. Bracton is so far from setting God's Vicegerent above the Law, that among other reasons, he enforces his being under the Law from

f. 29.

Bracton. l. 1. c. 8.

Lib. 2. cap. 22.

Lib. 2. cap. 2.

Lib. 2. cap. 24.

from that very Title, which is the greatest upon Earth in the forementioned Chap. 8. he has these words; *Ipsē autem Rex non debet esse sub homine, sed sub Deo, & sub Lege, quia Lex facit Regem. Attribuat ergo Rex legi quod Lex attribuit ei, videlicet dominationem & potestatem. Non est enim Rex ubi dominatur voluntas & non Lex. Et quod sub Lege esse debeat, cū sit Dei Vicarius, evidenter apparet ad exemplum Jesu Christi, cujus vices gerit in terrā, &c. qui noluit uti viribus sed ratione & judicio.* Nay, he will not allow him to be God's Vicegerent any longer, than he acts according to Law; speaking of the King, he says, *Potestas sua juris est, non injuriæ. Exercere igitur debet Rex potestatem juris, sicut Dei Vicarius & Minister in terrā, quia illa potestas solius Dei est, potestas autem injuriæ Diaboli & non Dei, & cujus horum opera fecerit Rex, ejus Minister erit, cujus opera fecerit. Igitur dum facit justitiā Vicarius est Regis æterni, Minister autem Diaboli, dum declinet ad injuriā.* So that this Popish Successor we are speaking of, can have no Authority to exercise any illegal Cruelty upon Protestants, and how far an inauthoritative Act, which carries no Obligation at all, can oblige men to obedience, I desire the Doctor to resolve. For it is an undeniable Maxim, *Where there is no Law, there is no Transgression.* I freely and readily acknowledge, that according to the known Laws of England, this Popish Prince, when he is lawfully possess'd of the Crown, will be inviolable and unaccountable, as to his own person, and ought by no means to have any violence offered to him; for *who can do that as David says of an anointed King, and be guiltless?* so that if a Man be reduced to those Straits, as either

to lose his Life, or contract Guilt by keeping it, he ought to die, and his time is come. But this must needs be a rare case, which can seldom happen; for bad Princes are hardly ever known to stoop so low, as to be the Executioners of their own Cruelty, they generally reserve themselves for a better Office. And how far men may endeavour notwithstanding to save themselves, without breach of their Allegiance, and of that true Faith and Loyalty which they ought to bear of Life, and Limb, and terrene Honour, if they have a mind to know, they may ask advice.

F. 8.

But though we are out of our pain, as to this first difficulty, yet still there is nothing but despair left behind; for *him that escapeth the Sword of Hazael, shall Jehu slay, and him that escapeth from the Sword of Jehu, shall Elisha slay.* For we are told, that the Gospel, by its own Confession, is a 'Suffering Doctrine, and so far from being 'prejudicial to *Cæsar's* Authority, that it 'makes him the Minister of God, and commands all its Professors to give him, and 'all that are put in Authority under him, 'their Dues, and rather die than resist them 'by force. At this rate, under a Popish Successor, the Lives of all Protestants shall lie at the mercy of every Justice of Peace, Constable, or Tything-man, who shall have Catholick Zeal enough to destroy them. Every Commission-officer, and Janizary, shall kill and slay without resistance. I never knew this before, that our Throats were the dues and perquisites of their places, and that another Man is bound to stand still and suffer himself to be murdered, while they only give him a cast of their Office. We readily acknowledge

knowledge, that no Inferiour Magistrate is to be resisted in the exercise of his Office, so far as he is warranted by Law; but illegal force may be repelled by Force, if you will believe *Bracton*, who has these words; *Ei qui vult viribus uti, erit viriliter resistendum*. Who likewise tells us, *Armarum quædam sunt tui-ionis*; which he after calls, *Arma pacis & iustitiæ*, in the hands of private Men for their own Defence; and adds, *Quod quis ob tutelam sui corporis fecerit, vel sui juris, iuste fecisse videtur*. This is in the Case of violent Disseisin; and I hope a Man's Life is his most valuable Free-hold, of which if he be disseised, he shall hardly be restored by any legal Remedy afterward.

Bracton l. 4.

c. 4.

All the world knows, that it is a misfortune for a man, in his own lawful Defence, to kill another, but it is neither Murder nor Felony; whereas it is Murder even in a Magistrate to kill any man, if it be not done in due course of Law. And through the help of God, though we cannot hinder the Papists from being Idolaters, we will endeavour to keep them from being Murderers, they shall not have that to answer for too.

Is the Doctor serious, and in earnest, when he teaches and preaches up Passive Obedience for Evangelical in this Case? Would he really have men prostitute their Lives to Malice and Violence, when all the Laws of God, and of the Kingdom, protect them? Surely this is too light for the Pulpit, and is just such another piece of Drollery, as that which was dedicated to *Oliver Cromwell*, in the Book called, *Killing no Murder*. Where the Ingenuous Au-

Quat. 10.
P. 165.

thor offers *Oliver* many convincing and satisfying Reasons, why he should kill himself, and very fairly gives him his choice, of Hanging, Drowning, or Pistolling himself, shews him the absolute Necessity of it, the Honour he would gain by it; and in a word, uses such Arguments, as might have prevailed upon any body but an hardened Rebel. Bating that Dedication, I never met with any thing like this Passive Doctrine, for wheedling a man out of his life. *Gregory* says, 'That *Julian* stole a Persecution upon the Christians, under a shew of gentleness, for he always disclaimed his being a Persecutor. And we, for ought I know, may be exposed to the bloodiest Persecution that ever was, under the meek pretences of Passive Obedience. For as a worthy person has lately observed, *One single Arm, unresisted, may go a great way in Maffacring a Nation.* But how many irresistible Arms will there be lifted up against us under a Popish Successor, when every petty Popish Officer, according to this Doctrine, shall be an Absolute Emperour, and have the Power of Life and Death? It is a Doctrine fit to turn a Nation into a Shambles, and enough to tempt and invite Tyranny and Cruelty into the World. For let a Prince be either a Papist, or an Atheist, and his Subjects well fetter'd and mannaled with this slavish Principle; and then what hinders, but the one of them may destroy Millions for their Estates and Heresie together, and the other as many, to see what ugly faces and grimaces they will make. The lives of the best men in the World shall be exposed to the fiery and ambitious Zeal of a Papist, or the extravagant and unac-

unaccountable humours of a Wretch; and hang at their Girdle, as Souls do at the Pope's.

If the Doctor looks upon these as excepted Cases, why did he not except them; why did he not particularly except the Case of a Popish Successor, the mischief of which, it has been the care of several Parliaments to prevent, and of which we have such a dismal prospect, that it makes every honest mans heart to ake. But I am afraid this Doctrine is calculated and fitted on purpose for the use of a Popish Successor, and to make us an easier prey to the Bloody Papists. For why else is there all that Wrath against every little Pamphlet which opposes that Interest?

How comes the *History of the Succession* to P. 29. be an Impious and Treasonable Book, and the *Dialogue between Tutor and Pupil* another? Why, the first is an Impious and Treasonable Book, because it shews how the Succession has been alterable in all ages. And this is so far from being an Impious or Treasonable Assertion, that it was impious High Treason, in Queen Elizabeth's Time, to say the contrary; and is still Impiety, and forfeiture of Goods and Chattels at this day. Which is so far from making the Monarchy Elective, as the Doctor might easily have understood, if he had read the Ancient Historians of England, instead of *Dissenters Sayings*. He would likewise have found it possible to write an History of the Succession, without borrowing from *Doleman*, and impossible to write it, without having a great many passages, which *Doleman* has got into his Book.

For that is
the true
meaning of
sitting, till
all Grievan-
ces are redres-
sed, and Pe-
titions an-
swered.

And the other is an Impious and Treasonable Book, for saying, *That Parliaments should sit till they have done that for which they are called, and sit, and were originally intended.* But these men are not for a Popish Successor, and so they and their Books, and whatever they have said, is to be blasted with the names of Impious and Treasonable. He talks as if he were already arrived at that Age, in which these Books will be sure to be called Treason, and the Authors used accordingly, unless they make haste and die out of the way, as my Lord *Hollis* has done, who is another of his Impious and Treasonable Authors.

However, let the Design of preaching up Passive Obedience, and the Example of the *Theban* Legion, at this time especially, be what it will; if the Papists taking us to be all Passive, and a fine glib and easie morsel, shall try to swallow up innocent men quick, it is my hearty desire that they may find themselves choak'd. For where is it said, in the Word of the Lord, which these men cannot go beyond, that the World was made only for *Banditi*, or that we are to yield up our selves to Cut-throats and Assassins, which the Papists have ever been to poor Protestants; and how many hundred thousands they have massacred I know not; but this I know, that they never did, nor ever will massacre more or less than just as many as they can.

To leave a matter of this importance as clear as may be, in such an occasional and accidental Discourse, I shall reduce the strength and force of what has been said, into these following Propositions.

I. Chri-

1. Christianity destroys no mans Natural or Civil Rights, but confirms them.
2. All men have both a Natural and Civil Right and Property in their Lives, till they have forfeited them by the Laws of their Country.
3. When the Laws of God, and of our Country interfere, and it is made Death by the Law of the Land to be a good Christian, then we are to lay down our Lives for Christ's sake. This is the only Case wherein the Gospel requires Passive Obedience, namely, when the Laws are against a man. And this was the Case of the first Christians.
4. That the killing of a man, contrary to Law, is Murder.
5. That every man is bound to prevent Murder, as far as the Law allows, and ought not to submit to be murdered if he can help it.

And now I shall desire those men, who of late have thundered in all publick places with the *Theban* Legion, to keep that compleat and admirable Example, (for which, thanks be to God, we have no occasion) till they have gotten another *Maximian*, and till that *Maximian* has gotten authority to cut such an unconscionable number of Throats, as 6666 at one time.

I have many more Exceptions against their Artillery of Prayers and Tears, than I can now stay to insist upon.

Greg. Inveſt.
1. p. 57. Eton.

First, There are only Tears mentioned, where they quote Prayers too.

2dly, The paſſage has nothing at all of that ſenſe which they put upon it, ſpeaking of the grievous things *Julian* deſigned againſt the Chriſtians; but ſays *Gregory*, he was hindered by the Goodneſs of God, and the Tears of Chriſtians, which were ſhed in great plenty by many, who had this only Remedy againſt the Perſecutor. They had no other way to help themſelves; What then?

Inveſt. 2.
p. 100. Eton.

Does not *Gregory* complain in another place, that they were ſtripp'd of all humane aid; they had no other Wall, nor Weapon, nor Defence left them, but their hope in God? For beſides, that *Julian* had gotten all the ſtrength of the Empire into his Hands, there ſeems to have been a general Revolt from Chriſtianity, almoſt like that in Queen *Mary's* time; which makes *St. Aſterius* ſay, *Quantus ab Eccleſiâ ad altaria factus eſt concursus? Quam multi per honorum eſcam & illecebras una cum ipſo tranſgreſſionis hamum devoraverunt?* What then would they have a few defenceleſs Chriſtians do, when they had loſt all their Strength, and ſo many of their Numbers? Have they never heard a Weſt-Countryman ſay, *Chud eat Cheeſe an chad it?*

Homil. contra Avaritiam.

3dly, It is very odd they ſhould quote this ſcrap out of *Gregory's Inveſtives*. Believe me, they muſt look out very ſharp, who could find out ſuch a Daiſy as this in a whole Field of Nettles. For never were two ſuch Thunderbolts in this World ſent after

after a Persecutor, as those two Speeches are.

4. Whether they did not make use of some few other ingredients, besides Tears and Prayers too, in their Composition against a Persecutor; I refer my self to the matter of Fact related in the former part of this Book.

And, *Lastly*, I do earnestly desire them to take heed, how they recommend *Gregory's* Prayers and Tears to the World; for, I declare, they are no better than Treason by our Law: They were such as did imagine and compass *Julian's* Death. If they would have these prayers and Tears believed to be in favour of *Julian*, they deceive the World; and if they recommend them, such as they are, to people's use, I do again, as a Friend, give them fair warning.

The Protestants in *Queen Mary's* Days, found their short disjunctive prayer made High Treason, *ex post Facto*, though they prayed, in the first place, *That God would turn her Heart from Idolatry: and in case that were not done, then to take her out of the way.* Whereas I do not find that there is one single wish among the Ancients for *Julian's* Conversion, but all for his down right destruction.

The preamble of that Act in *Queen Mary's* Time has some remarkable passages in it, which for the Reader's ease I shall here set down, and so conclude this whole matter.

Philip and Mary.

*Ann. 1, & 2
Phil. &
Mar. cap. 9.*

FOrasmuch as now of late, divers naughty, seditious, malicious, and heretical persons, not having the fear of God before their eyes, but in a devilish sort, contrary to the duty of their Allegiance, have congregated themselves together in Conventicles, in divers and sundry profane places within this City of London, esteeming themselves to be in the true Faith, where indeed they are in Errors and Heresies, and out of the true Trade of Christs Catholick Religion; and in the same places, at severall times, using their phantastical and Schismatical Services, lately taken away and abolished by Authority of Parliament, have, of their most malicious and cankered Stomacks, prayed against the Queen's Majesty, That God would turn her Heart from Idolatry to the true Faith, or else to shorten her days, or take her quickly out of the way. Which Prayer was never heard or read to have been used by any good Christian man against any Prince, though he were a Pagan and an Infidel; and much less against any Christian Prince,
and

and especially so vertuous a Princels
as our Sovereign Lady that now is,
is known to be, whose Faith is, and
always hath been, most true and Ca-
tholick, and Consonant, and agreeing
with Christs Catholick Church
thzoughout the Worlde dispersed.

Be it enacted, That every such
Person and Persons, which since the
beginning of this Parliament, have
prayed, required, or desired, as afore-
said, shall be adjudged High Tray-
tors, &c. as also their Procurers and
Abbetors therein.

I shall only observe from hence, that
these blind Papists were as much out, in
thinking these prayers unprecedented, and
of the first Impression, as they afterwards
found they were in Queen Mary's Reckon-
ing. And from the rest, the Reader may
please to make his own Observations.

A

A
COMPARISON
OF
Popery and Paganism.

The Introduction.

WELL, what is all this to us? may some men say. Here is a great deal of adoe about a Pagan Successor: but Papists are Christians, and a true Church of Christ, only corrupt. O that Bishop *Ridly* were alive to hear them! if it be lawful to wish a good man out of Heaven, to come and do good upon a degenerate age: He would tell them what Christians the Papists are. 'Wolves, Thieves, Church-robbers, Enemies of Christ, the brood of Antichrist; such Christians with him they are. And it is a Church; 'The Babylonical Beast and 'Whore, a devilish Drab, a stinking Scum-pet, spiritually *Egypt* and *Sodom*, the Seat of Satan; such a Church it is. And these he tells the Lords of Parliament, are not angry and railing Expressions, of a man *desperate and in anguish*, but the words of a dying man, and the very truth of the matter. And therefore who can doubt, but revolking from the Protestant, which, as

Dr.

*In Fox. Vol.
3. f. 515. and
all over the
Bishop's
Writings.*

*Dedicat.
Serm. Jan 30.*

Dr. Hicks tells us, is but another Name for the Primitive Christian Religion; and herding with these enemies of Christianity, does entitle a man to the name of an Apostate, as well as it did Julian? That brave Bishop and Martyr, we spoke of, was clearly of that mind, as you may see by this passage in his Letter to Mr. West, sometimes his Chaplain: which I wish every body would lay to heart. 'I like very well your plain speaking, wherein you say that I must agree or die. I say unto you, in the Word of the Lord, That if you do not confess and maintain, to your power and knowledge, that which is grounded upon God's Word; but will, either for fear or gain of the World, shrink and play the Apostata, indeed you shall die the Death; you know what I mean. And his Apostasy agreed so ill with him, that this Martyr, who lay under the Sentence of Death, out-lived him.

But we may very well let him, and all the other Glorious Martyrs, rest in peace; for we have store of living authorities. The whole Clergy of England, who have subscribed, with Hand and Heart, to the Homilies, as containing a godly, wholesome, and necessary Doctrine for these times; and by name, to those against the peril of Idolatry, have consequently declared it as their Judgment, which I hope they are still ready to maintain; That the Church of Rome, as it is presently, and hath bin for the space of nine hundred Years and odd, is so far wide from the nature of the true Church, that nothing can be more. That it is an Idolatrous Church, not only

35 Article of the Church of England.

2d part Hom. for Whitsun. p. 213.

Peril of Idolatry, p. 69.

P. 71. & p. 54.

Plunket's
Tryal, p. 100.

only an Harlot, (as the Scripture calls her) but also a foul, filthy, old withered Harlot, and the Mother of Whoredom, guilty of the same Idolatry and worse, then was among Ethnicks and Gentiles; & abundantly more to the same purpose, which I shall hereafter have occasion to quote. And to name no more, we have the honourable Testimony of my Lord Chief Justice Pemberton, that Popery is a Religion ten times worse than all the Heathenish Superstitions. Which is so great a Truth, and so seasonable, and coming from so great a Man, that it deserves to be written in Letters of Gold.

And if Popery be ten times worse than all the Heathenish Superstitions; then I am sure we do no worse than the Primitive Christians, if we have ten times a greater aversion for a Popish Successor, than they had for their Julian. And yet if it be but equal, I think it will serve the turn; and therefore it will be sufficient to prove Popery as bad as Paganism; though if in so doing I prove it much worse, I cannot help that.

It would be endless to run through all the particulars of both these Religions, and to compare them together. I shall chuse therefore to insist upon those things wherein they mainly agree, and wherein they are removed at the greatest distance from Christianity: and they are Polytheism, Idolatry, and Cruelty, which I shall treat of in order.

CHAP. X.

Their Polytheism.

WHenever Paganism is named, the most obvious thing in it, and that which comes first to our Thoughts, is the multitude of Gods which they worshipped. And that the Papists have herein equalled and out-done the old Pagans;

I shall first shew, is the publick and professed Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

And, secondly, I shall demonstrate the truth of it.

First, That the Papists are gross *Polytheists*, and worship a vast number of false Gods, is the publick and professed Doctrine of the Church of *England*: And he that doubts of this, never read the *Homilies*; which I shall take this occasion to recommend to every Bodies reading, as one of the best Books that I know in the World next the Bible, and in the meantime shall set down several passages at large, which plainly shew what is the Doctrine of the Church in this point. In the third part of the Sermon against *Peril of Idolatry*, you have these words:

And for that Idolatry standeth chiefly in the mind, it shall in this part first be proved, that our Image-maintainers have had, and have the same

Hom. Tom. 2.

P. 46.

same Opinions and Judgements of Saints, whose Images they have made and worshipped, as the Gentiles Idolaters had of their Gods. And afterwards shall be declared, That our Image-maintainers and worshippers, have used, and use the same outward Rites of honouring, and worshipping their Images, as the Gentiles did use before their Idols, and that therefore they commit Idolatry, as well inwardly and outwardly, as did the wicked Gentiles Idolaters.

And concerning the first part of the Idolatrous Opinions of our Image-maintainers. What I pray you be such Saints with us, to whom we attribute the defence of certain Countries, spoiling God of his due Honour herein, but Dii tutelares of the Gentiles Idolaters? Such as were Belus to the Babylonians and Assyrians, Osiris and Isis to the Egyptians, Vulcane to the Lemnians, and to such other.

What be such Saints to whom the safeguard of certain Cities are appointed, but Dii Præsides with the Gentiles Idolaters? Such as were at Delphos, Apollo; at Athens, Minerva; at Carthage, Juno; at Rome, Quirinus, &c. What be such Saints, to whom, contrary to the use of the Primitive Church, Temples and Churches

Churches be builded, and Altars erected, but Dii Patroni, of the Gentiles Idolaters? Such as were in the Capitol Jupiter, in Paphus Temple Venus, in Ephesus Temple Diana, and such like. Alas, we seem in thus thinking and doing, to have learned our Religion, not out of God's Word, but out of the Pagan Poets, who say, Excessere omnes adytis, arisque relictis, Dii quibus imperium hoc steterat, &c. That is to say, All the Gods, by whose defence this Empire stood, are gone out of the Temples, and have forsaken their Altars. And where one Saint hath Images in divers places, the same Saint hath divers Names thereof, most like to the Gentiles. When you hear of our Lady of Walsingham, our Lady of Ipswich, our Lady of Wilsdon, and such other: What is it but an imitation of the Gentiles Idolaters? Diana Agrotera, Diana Coriphea, Diana Ephesia, &c. Venus Cypria, Venus Paphia, Venus Gnidia. Whereby is evidently meant, that the Saint for the Image sake, should in those places, yea, in the Images themselves, have a dwelling, which is the ground of their Idolatry. For where no Images be, they have no such means. Terentius Varro sheweth, that there were three hundred Jupiters in his Time, there were no fewer

fewer Veneres and Dianæ, we had no fewer Christophers, Ladies, Mary Magdalenes, and other Saints. Oenomaus and Hesiodus ſhew, that in their time there were thirty thouſand Gods. I think we had no fewer Saints, to whom we gave the honour due to God. And they have not only ſpoiled the true living God of his due Honour, in Temples, Cities, Countries, and Lands, by ſuch Devices and Inventions as the Gentiles Idolaters have done before them: But the Sea and Waters have as well ſpecial Saints with them, as they had Gods with the Gentiles, Neptune, Triton, Nereus, Caſtor and Pollux, Venus, and ſuch other. In whole places be come Saint Christopher, Saint Clement, and divers other, and ſpecially our Lady, to whom Shipmen ſing Ave Maris ſtella. Neither hath the Fire ſcaped the idolatrous inventions. For inſtead of Vulcan and Veſta, the Gentiles Gods of the Fire, our men have placed Saint Agatha, and make Letters on her day for to quench Fire with. Every Artificer and Profeſſion hath his ſpecial Saint, as a peculiar God. As for Example, Scholars have Saint Nicholas, and Saint Gregory; Printers, Saint Luke; neither lack Souldiers their Mars, nor Lovers their Venus, amongſt Chriſtians.

All Diseases have their special Saints, as Gods, the curers of them. The Hor, Saint Roche; the Falling Evil, Saint Cornelis; the Toothache, Saint Appolin, &c. Neither do Beasts and Cattel lack heir Gods with us, for Sain. Loy is the Horse-leech, and Saint Anthony the Swine-herd, &c. Where is God's Providence and due Honour in the mean reason? who saith, The Heavens be mine, and the Earth is mine, &c. But we have left him neither Heaven, nor Earth, nor Water, nor Countrey, nor City, Peace nor War, to rule and govern, neither Men, nor Beasts, nor their Diseases to Cure, that a Godly man might justly for zealous indignation cry out, O Heaven, O Earth, and Seas, what madnels and wickedness against God are men fallen into? What dishonour do the Creatures to their Creator and Maker? And if we remember God sometime, yet because we doubt of his Ability or Will to help, we soyn to him another Helper, as if he were a Roun Adjective, using these sayings; Such as Learn, God and Saint Nicholas le my speed; such as Peele, God help and Saint John: To the Horse, God and Saint Loy save thee. Thus are we become like Horses and Bules, which have no understanding. For, is there not one God only, who by his Power
and

and Wisdom made all things, and by his Providence governeth the same: and by his goodness maintaineth and saveth them? Be not all Things of him, by him, and through him? Why dost thou turn from the Creator to the Creatures? This is the manner of the Gentiles Idolaters; but thou art a Christian, and therefore by Christ alone hast access to God the Father, and help of him only. These things are not written to any reproach of the Saints themselves, who were the true Servants of God, and did give all honour to him, taking none unto themselves, and are blessed Souls with God: but against our foolishness and wickedness, making of the true Servants of God, false Gods, by attributing to them the Power and Honour which is God's, and due to him only.

And after more to the same purpose, there are these words,

Pag. 48.

If answer be made, That they make Saints but Intercessours to God, and means for such things as they would obtain of God: that is, even after the Gentiles idolatrous usage, to make them of Saints, Gods, called *Dii Medioximi*, to be mean Intercessors and Helpers to God, &c.

There

There cannot be a fuller charge of Polytheism than this is, which is here drawn up against the Papists, for making Gods of the Saints, nay, for making as very Devils of them, as ever any of the Heathen Gods were. From which they cannot clear themselves, with their *lewd distinction*, as the *Homily* calls it, of *Latria & Dulia*, for it is evident that the Saints of God cannot alide, that as much as any outward worshipping be done or exhibited to them. *Ibid. p. 50.*

And to attribute such desire of divine Honour to Saints, is to blot them with a most odious and devilish ignominy and villany, and indeed of Saints, to make them Satans and very Devils, whose property is to challenge to themselves the honour which is due to God only. *Alintle after p. 50.*

So far the Papists are even with the Gentiles Idolaters, and as deep in Polytheism as they: But in many points also they have far exceeded them in all wickedness, foolishness, and madness. Particularly in this they pass the folly and wickedness of the Gentiles, that they honour and worship the Reliques and Bones of our Saints, which prove that they be mortal men and dead, and therefore no Gods to be worshipped, which the Gentiles would never confess of their Gods for very shame. And after a great many ridiculous practices of theirs, in
E refe.

Page 54.

reference to these Reliques, are reckoned up, the Homily concludes that they are, not only more wicked than the Gentiles Idolaters, but also no wiser than Asses, Horses, and Mules, which have no understanding.

I have been the more copious in these Citations, to shew that this is the standing Doctrine of the Church of England, to which all Orders of the Clergy have all along subscribed; and is not one Doctor's opinion, or the conceit of any private man. But because the Judgment of our Heretical Church signifies nothing to Papists; who will likewise be sure to treat us as such when time serves, though now they have the treacherous impudence to pretend a mighty Zeal for us, when at the same time we are satisfied they are making their approaches to our Lives: I have another sort of proof for them, made up out of their own Oracles and Infallibility, with the help of a little common sense.

Socr. l. 3. c. 23.

ὁ αὐτὸν ἀπε-
θεῶν ἢ πορ-
φύρειον. Ἰλε-
ως γὰρ ῥησιν
ὁ τυρὶς ὅτι ἐν
προκρίνοισι
αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ
ἐκ πλάσας
ἐβλήκα.

Socrates taxes Libanius for making Porphyry a God; only because he once used these words; 'Let the Tyrian be merciful to me for preferring the Emperor Julian's Works before his. What would he have said, if he had known any thing of the Popish Devotions, where they invoke their Saints every day, and beg a thousand times more at their hands than this comes to? And it is from that practice I mean to demonstrate their gross Polytheism.

First;

First; Their bare Invocation of the Saints makes them Gods ; because thereby they bestow Divine Attributes upon them.

Secondly, The Matter of their prayers bestows several others.

First, The bare Invocation of their Saints, and praying to them, is making them Gods, and bestowing Divine Attributes upon them. And I am willing, in the first place, to take their Invocation at the very lowest : because though in their publick prayers and Liturgies, they often pray to their Saints to demand and command, and make them partners with God, and give them a divided Empire with him; yet in their Apologies, not being able to justify such abominable Sacrilege, they are content to lower their Saints, and to place them in the rank of suppliants, and then their Invocation is no more than *prier pour prier*. Well, be it so for the present, for this gives them the Attributes of Omnipresence and Omniscience, which belong to God alone.

C. Perrone
Replique au
Roy Jaquet.

First, Of *Omnipresence*. It is notorious that the Papists, in all parts of the World, familiarly make their addresses to the *Virgin Mary*; whereby they suppose her present, both here, and in the *Indies*, and in all Countries between; that she gives audience in this and the lower Hemisphere at once, and in millions of distant places in both, besides her presence Chambers, such as *Loretto Hall*, &c. and innumerable Altars, where she does especially

reside ; and is notwithstanding in Heaven all the while. Now what can an Infinite Being do more ? What other Ubiquity do we ascribe to God ? That the very Act of directing their prayers to Saints, implies this Ubiquity, is very plain ; for they immediately apply themselves to the Saints, that they may obtain their mediation to God. So that their prayers are not intended to be conveyed by God to the Saints, but to come directly to them, and by them to be recommended to God. And for that reason, in the *Trent Catechism* they are called *Internuntii & Patroni, Interpretes & Deprecatores ad Deum*. For to make God their Messenger to the Saints, (as he must be, if these prayers do not come directly to them) and to have him convey *Ora pro nobis*'s, is no good Court fashion, from whence we are told they take their pattern ; and would very ill comply with that profound reverence towards God, and keeping of due distance, and avoiding abrupt approaches to him, which is the great pretence for flying to the mediation of Saints and Angels.

*Rom. Catechism. p. 297.
p. 394.*

*Synod. Trident. Sess. ult.
Eosque assidue
esse in Cælo
regnantibus
voce vel
mente supplicare,
impie sentire.*

2 Chron. 6.

2. The bare Invocation of their Saints supposes their *Omniscience*. For (to say nothing of the Council of *Trent*'s decreeing mental prayer to be used to them) it is not to be thought that the Saints will prefer Hypocritical prayers to God, and such as are an abomination to him ; and therefore it is necessary for them to know mens hearts. Now not only the Scripture attributes this as proper and peculiar to God ; so *Solomon* says, *Thou only knowst the Hearts of the Children of men* : And God appropriates it to himself, *The Heart is deceit-*

deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked, who can know it? I the Lord search the Heart, I try the Reins. But likewise the Heathens themselves attributed it to their Gods, as that which was the ground of worshipping them, and of attesting them in all their Oaths and solemn Compacts. Not only to know what is in man, but to know what is in all men, and at all times, is the perfection of infinite knowledge: which it is therefore impossible for Saints or Angels to have, because it is a contradiction, for a Creature to have so much as one single infinite perfection.

It would be a great presumption in us, to go about to fix the Bounds and Limits of their enlarged understandings, and to tell just how wise an Angel of God is. They may for ought I know have an intuitive knowledge, without the trouble and hazzard of reasoning, and see the remotest Conclusions by as clear a light, as we do first principles: They may, in many other respects, have their understandings elevated and enlightened, beyond what we can imagine. Yet it is no presumption to say, that they have not any such knowledge in any kind, as may equal them with God: But on the other hand, it is Blasphemy to ascribe that to them, than which we cannot ascribe any thing greater to him. And this knowledge of understanding and searching men's Hearts, the Papists not only imply in their praying to Saints and Angels, and decree in their Councils, but they openly avow it likewise in their writings, and will prove it by Scripture it self. Cardinal Perrone for one amongst many others, proves that the Saints

know men's Hearts, because they are equal to the Angels: and the Angels assuredly know them, because they rejoyce at the Conversion of a Sinner; which is the inward change of man's mind, and lies very deep, even at the bottom of the Heart. But far less charity than the Angels burn withal, and a much smaller degree of knowledge than they really are endued with, will solve this *Phenomenon*. For cannot such silly Wretches as we, be glad of the conversion of a sinner, who was given for lost, though we never saw him in our lives; if we be assured of it by a very good Friend, who likewise was himself the happy Author of this Conversion, and invites us to congratulate the good success of his care and pains in it? And that this is the very case of the Angels Joy, I will venture to refer it to any man that will but once read over the first ten verses of the 15th Chapter of St. *Luke*. They likewise argue from *Elisha's* Heart going with *Gehazi*, and from his discovering the King of *Syria's* Counsels. But, 1. these were Actions and Words, which are nothing near so private as thoughts. And then, 2. there is no consequence from the extraordinary performances of Saints and Prophets enabled and inspired by God, to infer an ordinary and constant power and faculty of doing such things, at all times. Have the Saints and Angels *Prescience*, because Prophets have been some times enabled to foretel Things to come? Have they the power of raising the Dead, and of doing such Miracles, as are plainly the Finger of God, because God has been pleased, at some times, to make men his Instruments in the performance of these mighty Works?

Works? One would be ashamed of such Reasonings, and yet they have still worse. For some of them take it ill, that in denying Invocation of Saints and Angels, we will not allow them so much knowledge as the Devil has. Well, for ought I know, they may hereafter have a new set of Gods, and from worshipping those, which as the *Homily* says, they transform into Devils, by setting them up as the Rivals of God, they may fall to courting those which have made themselves so; who it seems have one qualification towards Invocation. For who knows where Apostasy from God will end?

Tripple Cord, p. 345. dedicated to the Nobility of England.

Secondly, The Matter of their Prayers to Saints and Angels makes them Gods, by giving them still more Divine Attributes.

1. They attribute to Saints and Angels the disposal of Grace, pardon of Sins, deliverance from Hell, and eternal Life; which are as peculiarly the Gifts of God, as the Creation of the World was his Work: As you may see by these following prayers.

Angelorum concio Sacra, Et Arch-angelorum turma incluta, Nostra diluant jam peccata, Præstando supera Cœli gaudia.

Missæ Sir in Festo omnium Sanctorum.

Here they pray the Angels to blot out their Sins, and bestow upon them the Joys of Heaven.

O Virgo sola Mater casta nostra cuncta omnia.

In Nativitat. B. M.

Solvens, da Regna, qui beata regnant agmina.

Here they pray the Virgin to pardon their Sins, and to give them the Kingdom of Heaven.

Litania San-
cti Bonavent.
Tom. 6. p. 492.

‘ *Ab Inferni horribili cruciamine,*
‘ *Libera nos Domina.*

‘ From the horrible Torment of Hell.
‘ Good Lady deliver us.

Ibid.

‘ *ut cunctis fidelibus defunctis requiem*
‘ *eternam donare digneris, Te rogamus*
‘ *audi nos.*

‘ That it may please thee to give ever-
‘ lasting Rest to all the faithful de-
‘ parted this Life, we beseech thee to
‘ hear us.

And in the Versicles, and Responses, towards the end of that Litany, you have these words.

V. ‘ *Ego dixi Domina miserere mei,*

R. ‘ *Sana animam quia peccavi tibi, &c.*

‘ I have said, Lady, have mercy upon me,

‘ Heal my Soul, for I have sinned a-
‘ gainst thee.

‘ Shew thy mercy upon us,

‘ And be gracious unto thy Servants.

And presently after, you have this devout Ejaculation.

‘ *Miserere servorum tuorum super quos invo-*
‘ *catum est nomen tuum.*

‘ Be merciful to thy Servants, who are
called by thy Name.

And

And so let them be, and never hereafter pretend to be Christians ! for that she is their great Goddess, appears,

2. By that blasphemous Honour which they have done her, in decking and magnifying her with the very same glorious praises and acknowledgements, wherewith *David* was inspired to honour God ; which our Blessed Saviour himself, when he was upon Earth, and all the Church of God have sung to him ever since. Such as these which follow, and the rest is alike, for it is all quintessence.

Psal. 10. ' In thee Lady do I put my
' trust.

18. ' The Heavens declare thy Glo-
' ry.

30. ' Into thy hands I commend my
' Spirit, my whole Life, and
' my last day.

53. ' I will freely offer unto thee the
' Sacrifice of Praise, and give
' thanks unto thy Name, for it
' is good.

67. ' Let *Mary* arise, and let her
' Enemies be scattered.

111. ' Blessed is the man that feareth
' our Lady, and blessed is the
' Heart that loveth her.

118. ' Lady, how have I loved thy
7th Part. ' Law ! it is ever before mine
' Eyes.

148. ' Praise our Lady from Hea-
' ven, glorifie her in the
' Heights. Praise her Sun and
' Moon, &c.

And then this Psalter concludes just as David's does.

Psalm 150. 'Let every thing that hath breath, praise our Lady.

Who can endure to see Scripture thus transpos'd and abused, and a Creature cloathed with all the Majesty of Heaven, and adorned at this rate with the spoils of her Maker? And besides *David's* Psalms, there is hardly an Hymn in the whole Bible, that is not in the same manner applied to her.

*Canticum
instar illius,
Exod. 15.
P. 479.*

'*The Chariots of Pharaoh and his Host, she hath cast into the Sea.*

How came she to cast them into the Sea, ye blasphemous Wretches, a thousand years before she was born?

They have likewise a *Te Deum* for her, which concludes thus;

'*Praise becometh thee, Dominion becometh thee; To thee be Power and Glory for ever and ever. Amen.*

And an *Athanasian Creed*, which concludes thus, speaking of our Saviour;

'*He sent the Holy Ghost upon his Disciples, and upon his Mother; whom he afterwards took up into Heaven, and she sits at the right Hand of her Son, not ceasing to prevail with her Son for us.*

Exorare.

'*This is the Faith concerning the Virgin Mary; which unless every man do believe faithfully and firmly, he cannot be saved.*

Now, whence had we this blasphemous Liturgy? Did not Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth himself take care to print it in the *Vaticar*, amongst

amongst *Bonaventure's* Works? And did he not make this *Bonaventure* a Doctor of the Church, and a Father, for these Works? And did not *Sixtus* the Fourth long before canonize him, and make him one of their Gods, for his Sanctity and Doctrine, which was testified by Miracles: such as raising the dead, &c. at the instance and intreaty of *Frederick* the Emperour, the Kings of *France*, *Sicily*, *Hungary*; the Dukes of *Venice*, *Savoy*, *Milain*, &c? Did not the same Pope *Sixtus* hire and encourage people with Indulgences, to worship this new God at his first setting up, that so he might be sure to have the more divine Honour done unto him? And did not this Divine *Bonaventure* make this Book, when he was upon Earth, with the Virgin *Mary's* help? And did not he make it for this end, That those that often praised her by this Book, she might mercifully look upon, with her amiable Countenance, and receive into her Love, and recreate and refresh their Souls at present, and in the Glory that shall be hereafter, set a Crown of precious Stones upon their Heads? And if all these Saints, and Popes, and Miracles, cannot make this to be good Catholick Doctrine, it is very hard.

However, to wave this Liturgy, there is as much attributed to the Virgin *Mary*, in the publick Offices of their pretended Church: which no Papist can have any manner of colour of pretence to disown, because he himself joins in them. For instance, they attribute Omnipotency to her. *Bonaventure* indeed says roundly, *Domina nostra Omnipotens, post Deum nomen ejus.*

See *Bonaventure's* *Lif: before his Works.*

Ibi.

See *Bonavent. Pref. to this Isal. a d Liturg. gratia & adjutorio illius conditum & compactum.*

Canticum instar illius, Exod. 15.

ejus. And is not *cuncta potens* as good as *Omnipotens*? and this the *Missal* freely bestows upon her, and gives it as a reason why she should forgive sins, and bestow the Kingdom of Heaven.

In Nativitate
B. M.

‘Potens enim cuncta, ut Mundi Regina, & jra

‘Cum nato omnia decernis in secla & ultra,

‘Subnixa es in gloriâ Cherubim electa, Seraphinque clara agmina.

‘Nam juxta Filium posita, sedes in dextera

‘Virtus, lampas, & Sophia.

‘For thou art Almighty, as Queen of the World, and with thy Son judg- est all things for ever and ever; thou upheldest in glory the Cherubim and Seraphim, &c.

Nay if she can do all things, they have reason, she is to be worshipped; *O Dea certé.*

But how comes she to be thus all-powerful, and Queen of the World? It is not by the Right of a Mother, which elsewhere she is desired to use in commanding her Son, for then the Lady *Ann*, our Ladies Mother, would come in for a share: Who, alas, must be content with her Daughters honour, for she her self is made but a poor Messenger, as you may see by these words to her:

Corona B. V.
p. 466. jure
matris impe-
ra tuo dile-
ctissimo Fi-
lio.

In Festo An-
næ Matris
B. M.

‘Tua proles est Regina, in Cœlesti pa- tria.

‘Ipsa cunctis jam prælata, per te sumens hæc precata.

‘Nostra

‘*Nostra fiat Advocata, in Dei presen-*
‘*tiâ.*

‘Thy Daughter is Queen in the Hea-
‘venly Country.

‘Let her who takes place of all, receiv-
‘ing these prayers from thee, be-
‘come our Advocate in the presence
‘of God.

What handing of prayers is here, just
as they help Bricks out of a Cart. From
whence, by the way, we may observe that
Cardinal Perronne stopt short, when he said,
Invocation was only *prier pour prier*; it is
prier pour prier pour prier at the least: For
an ordinary Saint, no nor Angel neither,
will not serve to present their prayers, but
must go to the Virgin Mary and pray her
over again.

For thus likewise they speak to the An-
gel Gabriel.

‘*Nunc igitur prece accelera, Pie Matris* *In Feste San-*
‘*precare viscera,* *cti Gabrielis.*

‘*Nato monstret pectus & ubera; Tu ab*
‘*hoste nos tecum libera.*

‘Now therefore Herald make haste,
‘intreat the Bowels of the Gracious
‘Mother;

‘Let her shew her Son her Bosom and
‘Breasts; deliver thy self and us
‘from the Enemy.

It is well *Poste haste* is written upon this
last Packet of prayers, for otherwise that
mischance might happen to them, which
did to the Master of Requests Petitions.

in Queen Elizabeth's Time : who told the Queen, when ſhe complained that his new Boots ſtunk ; that it was not his new Boots, but the old ſtale Bills which he had kept too long in his Pocket.

To return from this Digreſſion, The Virgin Mary takes her place as Queen of the World, and Empreſs of Heaven, by another right ; for they have blaſphemouſly made her the Bride, or the Wife of God the Father. So Bonaventure in his *Te Deum*.

*Hymnus in-
ſtar illius qui
aſcribitur.
Ambroſ. &
Auguſt.*

' *Te Matrem Dei laudamus, Te Mariam
' Virginem proſitemur,
' Te æterni Patris ſponſam omnis terra ve-
' neratur.*

' All the Earth doth worſhip thee, the
' Wife of the Father Everlaſting.

But becauſe I ſaid I would wave Bonaventure, though at the ſame time I proved his authority to be ſacred, the very ſame is ſaid, or ſung, in their own Maſs-Book.

*In die af-
ſump. B. M.*

' *Tu es pulchra Dei ſponſa, Tu Regem Chriſt-
' um enixa,
' Domina es in Cælo & Terra.*

' Thou art God's fair Bride, Thou
' broughteſt forth the King Chriſt,
' And art Lady in Heaven and Earth.

And again you have an account how he came by her.

*In Feſto
Sancti Ga-
brielis.*

' *Imperatrix, cujus Imperio tota gaudet Cæ-
' leſtiâ concio,*

' *Te*

- 'Te creavit Deus mirabilem, te respexit an-
'cillam humilem,
- 'Te quæsit sponsam amabilem, tibi nun-
'quam fecit consimilem.
- 'Thou Empress, under whose Govern-
'ment the whole Assembly of Heaven
'rejoyces to be. God created thee
'wonderful, he regarded thee his
'lowly Hand maid, he sought thee out
'his amiable Spouse, the like of thee
'he never made.

And this Title is so familiarly given to the Virgin Mary, that it seems to be annexed to her Imperial Stile; for I will be bound, at very short warning, to produce an hundred places out of their publick and private Devotions, where she is called by that Name. We are extreamly beholden to the Papists, and ought to take this occasion to thank them, for answering an Objection of *Mahomet* against our Saviour's Divinity. For he being a crafty Impostor, found a necessity of lessening our Saviour, and making him barely a Prophet: by which means he himself would clearly have the advantage, in being the last Prophet. And therefore he not only tells a ridiculous Story, how Jesus the Son of Mary, being questioned for it by God, utterly denied that ever he called himself the Son of God, and laid all the fault upon his Followers, because they had done it of their own Heads; but likewise he repeats and inculcates it all over his *Alcoran*, that there is but one God only, and no more. And in one place, I remember he gives this reason for it: There is but one God and no more, and he has no Son, for he never

Sung in the
Council of
Constance.
Apud
Chemnitium.
Exam. Con.
Trid.
p. 610. *Gen.*
1634 & in
sequentia
Missal. in
Vistai. B.M.

never had a Wife. But now there's an end of that Turkish Argument. And now likewise the Secret is out. For I confess it has often amazed me, to see the extravagant Blasphemies, which are used in their prayers to the Virgin Mary: as when they call her *the Fountain of Mercy*, (which is the brightest and loveliest apprehension of God, that can possess the minds of Creatures); when they call her, *Empress of Heaven*, who upheld the Cherubim and Seraphim from falling, (there I thought them mad) whom all the Angels worship, (that methought was but reasonable, supposing the former) whom the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the whole Creation, are called upon to praise and magnify, (as if she had been the Maker of them all) and who threw Pharaoh and his Host into the Red Sea, (there, thought I, they make old Time go back a thousand years for this piece of Flattery). Whereas this unthought of Relation entitles her to every thing that is, was or can be in the Universal World. Methinks such rank Blasphemy as this should poison the Air, into which it is breathed forth, and blast the whole Creation round about! I am sure it will make the Ears of all Christians to tingle, and raise their Blood against such an horrid Religion.

And thus I have proved the *Papists*, out of their own blasphemous mouths, to be *Polytheists*, in setting up Saints and Angels for Gods, and in giving Divine Honour to them. I have employed no other Argument, at present, to prove this, than only their prayers to them; whereas I might have used very many others, as he that will read the *Homily* against Peril of Idolatry, may

may easily see. Against certain truth, I know there cannot possibly be any material Objection: but I would answer all trifling ones, if I could foresee them. It may be the *Papists* will say, They do not make the Angels and Saints Gods; because they make them, in many respects, inferior to God. Were the Heathen Gods no Gods, because *Jupiter* was King of them? Was *Vulcan* no God, because he was only armed with an Hammer, and not with the Sovereign Thunderbolt? What difference the Heathens made betwixt *Jupiter* and the other Gods, you may in part see, by this following passage, taken out of *Maximin's* Edict upon a Pillar in *Tyrus*. The highest and greatest *Jupiter*, who presides over your famous City, and delivers the Gods of your Country, your Wives, and Children, and Houses, from all destructive Calamity, &c. These poor helpless Gods, were so far from being Omnipotent, that they needed the protection of *Jupiter*, as much as the meanest of their Votaries.

Eusebii Eccl. Hist. l. 8. c. 6.
*πασι τοις υ-
μιν θεοις*

Or it may be they will say, They reserve peculiar Worship and Services to God, which they do not communicate to Saints: For they tell us, 'They celebrate the Mass indeed, in memory and honour of the Saints; but the Priest never uses to say, 'I offer Sacrifice to thee *Peter*, or *Paul*; 'namely this Sacrifice of the Mass. For that they offer all other Sacrifices, if it please God to give me Life and Health, I shall hereafter fully prove: and then they shall hear more of this deceitful Juggle too, and of the Tricks they have played with *St. Austin's* words.

Rom. Catech. p. 204.

We grant they do not offer the Sacrifice of the Mass to the Saints, but to the Trinity : So that they offer the Son of God to himself ; and according to the usual *decorum*, which they constantly observe in that awkerd Religion, which is made to spite the Reason of Mankind ; As our Saviour once heretofore sat at the Table discoursing and lay sowering in twelve several mens Stomachs at the same time, so now he is every day, in person, both the Sacrifice it self upon Earth, and the God in Heaven to whom it is offered. None, but such a Fool as I am, would stand arguing and disputing with these men ; whom all the Reason upon Earth can never distress, by reducing them to Impossibilities or Absurdities, when they own and profess these Absurdities and Contradictions of their own accord : It would certainly be more wisdom, to go and preach, as Venerable *Bede* once did, to a heap of stones. But to proceed nevertheless, are not we to take it for a great favour, that they do not offer the Great God of Heaven in Sacrifice to *Thomas of Becket* ? The Gentiles Idolaters were so far from offering *Jupiter* in Sacrifice to any petty God, that I never yet read, that they offered him in Sacrifice to himself. There is no consequence at all in this reasoning ; The Papists do not offer the Sacrifice of the Mass to Saints and Angels, but only to the Trinity, therefore they do not make Saints and Angels Gods. For had not the Heathens proper Sacrifices for *Jupiter*, which were sacred only to him ? and yet this did not destroy the Divinity of the other Deities. It makes no more difference amongst the Gods, nor affects their

their God-head any more, to have this or that particular Sacrifice, offered or not offered to them, than it did for *Æsculapius* to have a great Beard, and his Father *Apollo* to have none at all.

I astly, The Papists may possibly say, That there is great difference betwixt the Gods of the Pagans, and the Saints which they honour and worship: the former having been lewd men, and sometimes feigned persons; the latter being such as we Hereticks pay some respect to, though not enough. I shall not now enter into the merits of that Cause, but refer them to a great Prelate of our Church, who has told them, That they Worship Saints in Heaven, and Saints in Hell, and Saints that are in neither place, nor ever were in being. Though, by the way, I cannot find any such great difference betwixt *Romulus* and *Ignatius Loyola*; the one having been, in his time, the Governour of a Den of Thieves, and the other the Captain General of the Modern *Banditi*: and it is all one to me, whether they worship the Nine Muses, or the Seven sleepers, for still the Polytheism remains the same; they have indeed chang'd their Gods, but not their Religion.

Vid. Festum
7. dormientium.

CHAP. XI.

Their Idolatry.

According to my former Method, I shall, 1. shew, that the Church of *England* has all along charged the Papists with Idolatry. And, 2. I shall make good that Charge upon them, out of their own Mouths.

1. The Church of *England* has all along charged the Papists with Idolatry. The *Homilies*, I am sure, charge them with it above an hundred times over, out of which I shall make choice of some few Instances. Speaking of the Ages of Popery;

3d part Ser-
mon per. Idol.
p. 56.

It is evident, that Images, Superstition, and worshipping of Images and Idolatry, have continued many hundred Years. And in the same Paragraph, we have a fuller description of the State of all Christendom before the Reformation. So that Laity and Clergy, Learned and Unlearned, all Ages, Sects, and degrees of Men, Women, and Children, of whole Christendom, (an horrible and most dreadful thing to think) have been at once drowned in abominable Idolatry, of all other Vices most detested of God, and most damnable to Man, and that by the

the space of eight hundred Years and more.

And in another place, after a description of their Men Saints, which look'd like Princes of Persia Land; and the Idols of their Women Saints, which might have been taken for nice and well-trimmed Harlots, you have these words; And because Ibid. p. 72.

the whole Pageant must be thoroughly plaid, it is not enough thus to deck Idols, but at the last come in the Priests themselves, likewise decked with Gold and Pearl, that they may be meet Servants for such Lords and Ladies, and fit worshippers of such Gods and Goddesses.

And with a solemn pace they pass forth before these Golden Puppets, and fall down to the Ground on their Barrow Bones before these honourable Idols, &c. And elsewhere 21 part. p. 37.
Our mighty
Gods of Gold
and Silver,
Stock and
Son.

you have a large Discourse, shewing, Pag. 49.

That their Rites and Ceremonies, in honouring and worshipping of the Images, or Saints, be all one with the Rites which the Gentiles Idolaters used in honouring their Idols.

In Pilgrimages to visit Images, which had more Holiness and Vertue in them than others: In their Candle- Pag. 51.

Religion, burning Incense, offering up Gold to Images, hanging up Crouches, Chains, and Ships, Legs, Arms, and whole Men and

Pag. 52.

Pag. 53.

Ibi l. p. 50.

and Women of War, Iefore Images, as though by them, or Saints, (as they say) they were delivered from Lameness, Sicknes, Captivity, or Shipwreck. In spreading abroad, after the Example of the Gentiles Idolaters, lying and feigned Miracles of Images. Such an Image was sent from Heaven, like the Palladium or Diana of the Ephesians: Such an Image was brought by Angels. Such an one came it self far from the East to the West, as Dame Fortune fled to Rome. Some Images, though they were hard and stony, yet for tender heart and pity, wept. Some spake more mantrously than ever did Balaam's Ass, who had Life and Breath in him. Such a Triple came and saluted this Saint of Oke, and by and by he was made whole, and he, here hangeth his Crouch. Such an one in a Tempest vowed to Saint Christopher, and scaped, and behold here is his Ship of War. Such an one, by Saint Leonard's help, brake out of Prison, and see where his Fetters hang. And infinite thousands more Miracles, by like or more shameless Lies were reported. And to conclude, The Papists serve themselves of those very excuses which the Devil heretofore put into the Mouths of the Gen-

Gentiles to palliate their Idolatry. So that by making use of the same Pretences and Answers, it is plain, that they be all one with the Gentiles Idolaters.

These things hitherto are spoken in reference to the worshipping of Images; and then as to their worshipping the Host, the Rubrick, after the Communion, declares, that it is Idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians. Which has been always the Doctrine of our Church, notwithstanding the ignorant Cavils of some men, as appears by the *Homilies*, where this Doctrine was never discontinued. The Papists ignorance of the Sacrament is affirmed to have been the cause of the ruine of God's Religion, the cause of gross Idolatry, and of mummissy dealing.

*Declaration
after the
Communion.*

*1st part.
Serm. c. n-
cerning the
Sacrament.
p. 199.*

Their worshipping and falling down before every cross piece of Timber, which is but an Image of our Saviour's Cross, must needs be rank Idolatry; when in St. Ambrose judgement to have worshipped the Cross it self, which was embroidered with our Saviour Christ's own precious Blood, had been an heathenish Error and Vanity of the wicked.

*2d part Peril
of Idolatry,
p. 25.*

*In his Treas-
ure of the
Death of
Theodosius
the Emperor.*

In a word, Idolatry is so interwoven with their Religion, that the *Homily* very justly brands them with the Name of the Idolatrous Church.

*3d part. Peri-
of Idol. p. 69*

So much for the Doctrine of the Church of England, which I hope will not seem strange or new to the meanest Reader; for I
am

Article Ch. of am sure all the people of *England* ought to
England, 35. have been instructed and perfect in it, any
 time this hundred Years and better.

2. And now I shall undertake to prove the Papists to be as blockish Idolaters as ever were in the World, by irrefragable and uncontrollable authorities, such as they must either own, or renounce their Popery; and they are, their own Mass-book, the Roman Catechism set out by the Decree of the Council of *Trent*, and the Roman Pontifical.

And, 1. I shall set down all the sorts of Idolatry, which are enumerated by the Roman Catechism.

And then, 2. prove them to be guilty of those very things; which they themselves acknowledge to be both Idolatry, and old Heathen Idolatry.

In their Explication of the Second Commandment, they have these words. 'It is manifest, that two ways especially, as to this Precept, the Majesty of God is very much injured. The first is, If Idols and Images are worshipped as God; or if any Divinity or Vertue be believed to be in them, for the sake of which they are to be worshipped, or that any thing is to be desired of them, or that any trust is to be put in them, as was done heretofore by the Gentiles, who placed their hope in Idols, which the Scripture every where reproveth. The other is, If any one endeavour to represent the form of the Divinity in any kind of Work, as if it could be seen with bodily Eyes, or expressed by Colours or Figures.

To begin with the first instance of Idolatry,

Rom. Catech.
 f. 299.

try, to worship Idols or Images as God : by which if they mean worshipping an Image, with a persuasion that it is God ; truly that is a very low dispensation, which very few, if any, of the Heathens were under. And such an imputation as this, they always look'd upon as an horrid slander upon their Religion. If any Papist had charged the Heathens with it in *Julian's* time, he would have returned him this answer. ' O thou Block-head, How can we ' chuse but account them Stocks and Stones, ' which the hands of men have fashioned ? ' Dost thou think that the accursed Devils ' lead all other men by the Nose, as they ' do thee, so as to esteem them to be Gods, ' which are their own Workmanship ? Or if they mean by those words, the worshipping of Images, with the same honour and devotion as God himself, even this the Heathens renounced. *Julian* gives this account of the respect which they paid to Images, whereby you may perceive a wide difference betwixt that, and the honour which they gave to their Gods. Says he, ' Whosoever is ' a lover of his King, or Child, or Father, ' is delighted with their several Pictures, ' and pleased in looking upon them : by ' the same reason, he that is a lover of God, ' is pleased and delighted in looking upon ' the Images of the Gods, at the same time ' worshipping and dreading the Gods, who ' see him, but are not seen. Now who but a Sor, has the same reverence and pangs of Love for these dead Pictures, as he has for the person of his Prince, or for his Relations themselves ?

ὅτι καὶ τὸ Ἰδαν
αὐτῶν ἵππο-
νέσι γε. *Julian.*
Fragment.
p. 539.

Julian. Ibid.

Let that be as it will, I am sure the

Concil. Trid.
Sess. 13. Rom.
Ca. p. 185.
Totus Chri-
stus conti-
netur in Sa-
cramento,
Christus au-
tem est no-
men Dei &
Hominis.
Epist. 49. ad
Deo Gratias
Pres. Quæst. 3.

Greg. N. z.
Inv. 2. p. 127.
ix ἐν τῷ κα-
θολικῷ
κρίσει ἐν ἡ-
μῶν τῶν
ἀντι θεῶ
προσκυνοῦ-
μεν.
Chap. 14. 7.

modern Pagans will never be able to acquit themselves of ten times more stupid Idolatry, when they worship a contemptible Wafer, which is hardly fit to seal a Letter, with a full persuasion, that it is not only a perfect and complete man, but likewise the great God of Heaven. An Heathen Idol look'd like some Body; and being placed, as St. Austin says, in an honourable sublimity, having the very likeness of Limbs and Organs of Sense, though it really were without Life and Sense, yet it might affect weak minds, and seem to them to live and breathe: But never was there such a blunder before in the World, as to mistake a despicable patch of Bread, yea, though it have a Crucifix printed upon it to help the Imagination, for the Living God who made Heaven and Earth. No man can forbear scorning; and speaking contemptuously of this despicable and detestable Idol. For though a small piece of Bread has an honourable place in the Creation, and a much more honourable place in the Sacrament, where we remember our Saviour by it; yet, when it comes to be made a God, it is vilely degraded, and becomes an Object of nothing but Scorn and Derision, of Hatred and Detestation. As St. Gregory's words are, speaking of the Reign of *Jovian*, when Paganism expired; 'The Creature, says he, is no longer vilified with pretended honour, in being worshipped instead of God. And so the Wisdom of *Solomon* counts the Gibbet a more honourable piece of Wood, and pronounces it a happy Tree, in respect of that cursed one, which is debased and framed into an Idol.

2dly,

2dly, That this sorry Wafer, this contemptible Idol, is likewise to be worshipped with the same adoration, which is due to the true God, is the express determination of the Council of Trent, with a Curse to all them that shall say the contrary. And accordingly they make those Addresses to the Host, which are enough to astonish a man, and fill him with the greatest horror and amazement. In the middle of the Prayer, *Deus Pater fons & origo totius bonitatis*, &c. is this Rubrick; 'Here let the Priest bow himself to the Host, saying, I adore thee, I glorifie thee, I praise thee with all the power of my Mind and Heart, and pray thee not to forsake thy Servants, but forgive us our Sins. If this were not directed to the Host, the Rubrick should have come in before these words, *Quam ego indignus hic in manibus meis teneo*.

Concil. Trid.
Sess. 13.

Canon of the
Mass in Miss.
S. r p. 162. b.

And Bishop Coverdale, who translated the Canon of the Mass, affirms, That the Priest here speaks in this manner to the Host, and asks why not? if it be his Maker: according to the usual saying of Papists, who have been at Mass, *I thank God, I have seen my Maker to day*. And for certain, that Noble Confessor understood the sense of the Papists, and their Worship, but too well, to his cost.

Fox. Mon.
Vol. 3. p. 5.

To conclude this whole matter with that, which would have startled and amazed the old Pagans themselves; after they have thus hailed their God, and bowed the Knee before him, and worshipped him with all

See more of
this, in the
excellent and
learned Dis-
course of Dr.
Waitby, The
Absurdity
and Idolatry
of Host-Wor-
ship.

their Heart, and Soul, and Strength, they very fairly eat him up.

2. The next instance of Idolatry is this ; If any Divinity or Verrue be believed to be in Idols or Images, for the sake of which they are to be worshipped. By Divinity, here must be meant, a divine Power and Efficacy to supernatural Effects ; for otherwise it will be the very same with the former Instance. And that the Papists are likewise guilty of Idolatry in this particular, I shall make as clear as any Demonstration in *Euclide*, with the help only of this one reasonable *postulatum*, That there is all that Divinity and Virtue in a thing, which is put into it. Now let any one read the Consecration of a New Cross, or a Picture of the Crucifix, and he will be satisfied, that there is Divinity and Virtue enough put in them to justify the worshipping of them. ‘ We beseech thee, O Lord, Ho-

Pontificale
Rom. p. 260.

Rogamus te
Domine, &c.

‘ ly Father, Almighty Everlasting God ,
‘ that it may please thee to bless this Sign
‘ of the Cross, that it may be a Saving Re-
‘ medy to mankind. Let it be solidity of
‘ Faith, proficiency of good Works, Re-
‘ demption of Souls. Let it be a Comfort,
‘ and Protection, and safeguard against the
‘ cruel Darts of the Enemies, through Jesus
‘ Christ our Lord, &c. And after the Bi-
shop has said this, and another such Prayer,
and used several powerful Ceremonies,
and endued the Wood with so many Di-
vine Vertues, he may well do, as the
Rubrick directs at the end of the Office.

Tum Ponti-
fex, &c.

‘ Then the Bishop kneeling before the
‘ Cross does devoutly adore it, and kiss
‘ it ;

' it; the same do all others that have a
' mind.

There is no man living can make an estimate of that infinite Divine Virtue, which is in the Paschal Taper, that very tall Idol, being thirty six foot long. For in the Consecration of the New Fire (very well worth the reading) which is to light this Paschal Taper ; They pray, *that whosoever shall carry away Light from it, may be illuminated with the Light of Spiritual Grace.* Now this Light, well husbanded, may convey Grace to all the World. But I shall never be reconciled to that scurvy Rubrick, which directs to sprinkle this New Fire with Holy Water ; with which, if it were never so little too lavishly blest, the World is in danger of being left graceless, and in the dark.

Missal. Sar.
p. 90. a. b.

And yet for ought I know, there is a little Idol in a String, which may have as much Divinity and Virtue in it as any of them; and that is a Pectoral Cross, over which they say this Prayer.

' Almighty God, we humbly beseech thee, that it may please thee to bless this Cross with thy fatherly Goodness, and impart Heavenly Vertue and Grace to it ; That whosoever shall wear it as a sign of the Passion and Cross of thy only begotten Son, for the safeguard of his Body and Soul, may receive the Fulness of thy Heavenly Grace in it, and the defence of thy Blessing. As for the other little Wax-work Idol, called an *Agnus Dei*, he is so well known to be accounted by them, the Saviour of the World, and the Prince of the Air, and every thing

Pontific.
Rom. p. 364,
& 384.

that is great, that I need say nothing of him.

If any Unbeliever, after all, does secretly imagine that these Charms which we have repeated, do not work; and that these Crosses and Trade are not really endued with all this Divine Virtue, which is here bespoken for them: To cure him of his Infidelity, let him only read the form of delivering a Banner, after it is consecrated; ‘*Accipe Vexillum Cœlesti Benedictione Sanctificatum*’: Take this Banner which ‘is sanctified with Heavenly Benediction. You see the Bishop has blest it, and it is blessed.

Pontif. Rom.
p. 388.

3dly, I come now to the next instance of Idolatry, which is, *desiring any thing of Idols or Images*: V here I would fain know, whether the Papists do not ask as much of the Cross, as ever was begg’d of piece of Timber in all former Ages? In these following words;

Missal. Exaltatio Sanctæ Crucis 14. Sep.

‘*Medicina Christiana salva sanos, agros sana;*

‘*Quod non valet vis Humana, sit in tuo Nomine.*

‘Thou Christians all-heal, save those
‘that are in Health, and cure the
‘Sick;

‘What humane Power cannot do, is
‘done in thy Name.

Nay, they desire as much of an Aerial Idol, as they can of God himself.

‘*Hoc*

' *Hoc creatum peccatorum Tollat, præstet ju-
bitorum*

Missal. in Fe-
stonominis

' *Odas, sede Beatorum Donit nobis perfrui.*

leau.

Here they beg, neither more nor less, than that the Name of Jesus, (not the Person) may release them of their Sin; and give them the Joys of Heaven.

4thly, And as for the last instance, which is, putting their Trust, and placing their Hope in Images or Idols; If the Papists have no hope in these Idols which I have named, it is a sign they have no Faith in them, and are as very Infidels as we. So much for the first branch of Idolatry.

Secondly, The other is, If any one endeavour to represent the form of the Divinity in any kind of workmanship, as if it could be seen with bodily Eyes, or expressed by Colours or Figures.

Catech. R. 27.
p. 299.

This, as the Roman Catechism adds, was the Idolatry of the Heathens: who, as St. Paul excellently says, changed the Glory of the incorruptible God, into the similitude of Birds and four-footed Beasts, and creeping things. These men want nothing but to have all the Bibles in the world in one heap, which I am certain they would burn with as good a will, as our people do once a year their past-board Pope: For then they might go to work, and make a new Bible; and then St. Paul might say excellently what they had a mind to have him. In the mean time they have found out this useful expedient, to still and suppress any par-

Rom. 1. 23.

of Scripture, which makes against them : and that they have shamefully done in this place. They afterwards allow the *Israelites* to be Idolaters, for *changing their Glory into the similitude of a Calf that eateth Hay* ; and the Heathens in this place, for *changing the Glory of God into the similitude of Birds and Beasts, and creeping Things*. Now it is true, they do not trade in this sort of Imagery, and therefore they are willing that it should pass for Idolatry. But *St. Paul's* first instance of Idolatry, in this very passage, which they have shamefully mangled, is *changing the Glory of the Incorruptible God, into the likeness of an Image of Corruptible Man* : The absurdity whereof *St. Paul* expresses by an elegant Antithesis. But this falls heavy upon their own bald-pate Images, and their Monster Head with three Faces, and the other with an Imperial Crown on his Head, giving his Benisons with his two fore-fingers and Thumb, and that which sits with a Crucifix resting on his Knees, and a Dove upon it ; and to name no more, that same, which the honest *Iconoclast* found busie in creating the World, in a blue Coat, bare-foot and bare-legged, and marking out the Sun and Moon with a pair of Compasses ; and therefore they make no words at all of that part of the Text, which condemns these horrid Disguises of the Deity. What, dare they not quote an entire Text of Scripture to their own Priests, for this Catechism is written for their Instruction : No, nor in trusty Latine neither, which hides so many of their cheats from the Eyes of the common people ?

Nay,

Nay, then I do not wonder at it any longer, that there was once a Vulgar Language, spoken above four hundred Years in a Catholick Country, which never was worthy to have the Second Commandment in it. That great Antiquary, Mr. *Lambert* in his Notes upon the Preface to King *Alfred's* Laws, has long since told the World, that he never met with that Commandment in any Copy that is written in the *Saxon* Language. By these practices we may see, that the Papists know themselves to be Idolaters, as well as we can tell them. But because they wipe their Mouths, and deny it, and endeavour to shuffle it off by nice Distinctions, I shall not think much to examine them.

First, They say, ' They do not break *Rom. Catech.*
' this Commandment in expressing the se- P. 300
' veral Persons of the Trinity by Signs,
' which have appeared either under the
' Old or New Testament. Of which they
give the ancient of days in *Daniel* as an Instance.

Secondly, They say, ' That these are not
' Pictures of the Divinity; but only that
' some Properties or Actions, attributed to
' God, are declared by them.

In answer to the first of these Excuses.

First, Let them then fairly confess themselves Idolaters, for making those Pictures of God, of which they have neither sign, nor shadow of a sign in Scripture. For under

which Testament did their Monster-head with three Faces appear? than which, never did any Egyptian or Indian God make a worse Figure. Or out of which Testament did they copy their other pictures of the Trinity, that with a Crucifix on his Knees, or that where they sit all three abreast; where our Saviour has holes in his Hands and Feet, that you may know him from the Holy Ghost, for otherwise they are like as the two *Sofia's* in *Plautus*! Had they these out of *Daniel*? And one or other of these abominable Images of the Trinity, we had formerly in every Church, as the Compilers of the *Homilies* tell us; who, though they be not allowed as Doctors, may nevertheless serve for Testifiers.

2d part Peril
Idol. p. 40.

2dly, If a Scripture Sign be the only authentick Original of a Christian Image or Picture, then are theirs all Idols: for I never saw any of those, which they pretend to copy from *Daniel's* Dream, but varied extremely from the Original. They add very much in some things, and in others they take away. They picture the Ancient of Days like an Old Man; there is no such word as *Man* in *Daniel*: Then they give him all the Lineaments of a Face, and a Beard, purely out of their own Invention: And then, as for the Drapery, the Painter himself is the fashioner, for there is nothing more of it mentioned in *Daniel*, than the Colour of the Garment. In a word, the Lines and proportion of the Body, the Face and Features, are altogether as the Painter pleases. If men had not been stark

Dan. 7. 9.

stark mad of Idolatry, they would never have catch'd thus at the shadow of a Dream, and gone to work furnish'd with no better Instructions, than with the description of Eternity, of the colour of a Head of Hair, the colour of a Garment, and the posture of sitting.

The Jews might as well have taken hints from *Moses's* Metaphorical Expressions of the Hand, and Arm, and Finger of God, and much more from his own speaking to them, to have pictured God in a humane Shape; from which they are so often and so strictly forewarned.

And then, as for all those awful expressions of Majesty, wherewith the Ancient of Days is attended in *Daniel*, which are fit to make all the World fear and tremble before him, they are all left out in their Pictures. *His Throne was a fiery Flame, and his Wheels burning Fire. A fiery Stream issued and came forth from before him: Thousand thousands ministered to him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: The Judgment was set, and the Books were opened.* Deut. 4. 12, 15, 25. Dan. 7, 9, 10. All this glorious representation of the Ancient of Days, is dwindled into a solitary decrepid Old Man, who is no more like *Daniel's* Description, than a Mouse is to a mighty Monarch.

3dly, These Sign-Painters shew the worst Judgment that can be, in chusing their Pattern out of *Daniel*. For every Body knows, that Prophetick Dreams and Visions, and the Schemes of their Language, and their Descriptions, are more wide from the thing it self, and more unlike, than the
harshnest

harshes Metaphors that ever were in the World. Flourishing Kingdoms are represented in that Book by Rams Horns, and Goats Horns : which would make very unintelligible Pictures of Kingdoms, and would certainly require a Label to tell what they are. And therefore for men to fetch the Picture of God out of such a Book, where besides, above two thirds of their Picture is a perfect blank, is to do just like Children, but not with their Innocency, who, rather than fail of a Baby to play withal, will make it of a Clout.

Rem. Catech.
P. 300.

Secondly, Their other Excuse is, ' That these are not pictures of the Divinity ; ' but only that some properties, or actions, attributed to God, are declared by ' them.

To this I Answer ;

Ibid.

1st, That not only their common people, but all Papists call these the Images of God the Father ; of which we have an instance in the Margin of this Catechism, (which is as great an Authority as I cite it for) where it is called *Dei Patris Imago*. And if no body is so rude and ignorant, as to think the Divinity is expressed by those Images, (as the Catechism says) Why then is every Body so rude and ignorant, as to call them by that Name ? For an Image of God the Father, must be an Image of the Divinity, or an Image of nothing : for I hope he never assumed Humanity.

2^{dly},

2dly, Further, it is undeniably plain, that the person of God the Father is declared by these Images, and not any properties or Actions. For would not he blazon a Picture of the Trinity very improperly, and like an Heretick, who should say, There is the Holy Ghost, and that is God the Son, and the other is Eternity, or infinite Wisdom? So that if a Picture of our Saviour stands for his person, and the Dove, &c. for the Holy Ghost, so does this Old Man for the person of God the Father.

3dly, To let the *Papists* have their own way, I affirm, That the very declaring of the properties and Actions of the Deity by Images, was the Idolatry of the Heathens. For when they made an Image of *Jupiter*, they did not pretend that it was the very Figure of his Divinity, but declared some of his properties and Actions. And to prove that these Images were instructive, as the Popish are pretended to be, I shall only give this Instance. The same *Jupiter* was pictured in *Crete* with no Ears, and by the *Lacedaemonians* with four Ears, whereas the ordinary Pictures of him had but two. Now it is a Contradiction, and therefore held to be an impossibility, that one and the same person should have four Ears and yet but two Ears, and no Ears at all. When they therefore made him with two Ears, they would have him look like a man, and had no further meaning; but when they made him with four Ears, and no Ears, then they declared properties,

*Plutarch de
Iside & Osiride, p. 381.
Et Lilius Gyraldus, l. 76.*

Id signifi-
cantes domi-
natorem
omnium au-
dire debere
neminem, sed
æquè omni-
bus patulas
offere aures.
Eum undiq;
& omnia au-
dire innuen-
tes.

ties. And the Moral, and Signification, of both these, seems to be much alike. For when the *Cretians* crop'd him, they declared, That being King of the World, it was not fit that any one should have his Ear, but that they should lie open to all alike. And they that gave him that large set of Ears, declared, That he heard all things, and from all parts and quarters of the World. So that when the *Papists* have done all, when they have excused, and apologized, and blanch'd their Images of God, and made the best of them, still they are no better than old Pagan Idols.

CHAP. XII.

Their Cruelty.

WHat the Prophet says of *Ephraim*, has often come into my mind, with relation to the Papists, They are joyned to Idols: let them alone. They are infallible and incurable; and if they will not hear *Moses* and the Prophets, poor private men may do wisely to save their Breath. So we would with all our Hearts; but they will not let us alone. Nothing will satisfy them, unless they force their Idolatry upon us, (as the French King sells his Salt) whether we have any occasion for it, or any mind to it or no. Hosea 4. 17.

These Mighty *Nebuchadnezzars* set up Images, and all People, Nations, and Languages, must either fall down and worship them, or else be cast into a fiery Furnace. This is the hard Chapter to which we are now come, which is the very Sting of Popery: in which I shall first shew, That the Church of *England* has been all along sensible of the Popish Cruelty. And secondly, shew, That the Papists herein have far exceeded the old Pagans.

First,

2. Part. Serm.
for Whit-
sund. p. 215,
216.

Second. part.
Peril of Ido-
latry, p. 31.

Ibid. p. 34.

Ibid. p. 32.

First, As for the sense of our Church, The *Homilies* give us a large account of the Cruelty and Tyranny of many of the Popes of Rome, who had not the Spirit of God, but of the Devil; who not only were Cruel to the Living, but persecuted dead Bodies: to whom they apply our Saviour's Prediction of cruel and ravening Wolves in Sheeps cloathing. Their Image worship was maintained, at the very first by the Treason and Rebellion of Pope Gregory the Third, which Example, other Bishops of Rome have continually followed, and gone through withal most stoutly. And afterwards we have an account of the Tragical Cruelties, which were committed by the Empress Irene, in maintenance of Image Worship: who was the great Patroness and Valiant Captain of the Bishops of Rome, whose wicked and unnatural cruelty passed Medea and Progne, whose detestable Paracides have ministered matter to Poets, to write their horrible Tragedies.

Amongst other things, she digged up the Body of her Father-in-Law Constantine the Fifth, and commanded it to be openly burned, and the Ashes to be thrown into the Sea; because when he was alive, he had
de. 1. op.

destroyed Images, and taken away the sumptuous Ornaments of Churches. Which Example of hers (as the constant Report goeth) had like to have been put in practice with Princes coyses in our days, had the Authority of the Holy Father continued but a little longer.

This is true modern Popish Cruelty and Barbarity, which according to the daily improvement of it under that Religion, would have far exceeded *Irene's*. She burnt her Father-in-Law, a man that was no kin to her, otherwise than by an artificial Relation, and a fiction of Law: But here it would have been an own natural Father, and Brother; in which case a sweet Protestant Prince, and a persecutor of Protestants, only not a Slave to the Pope, had both fared alike. So that where Popery comes to be well settled, the Sacred Reliques of all those Princes are in danger of suffering the most barbarous Indignities, who have been in their time either hearty Protestants, or not hearty and thorow-paced Papists. And neither the reverence of a Father, nor the dear Relation of a Brother, shall save them from being treated like the most notorious Malefactors, whom the Justice of a Nation thinks it self bound to follow and pursue into the other World, and to make examples to all future ages. For blind Catholick Zeal knows no Body; but be it Peasant or Prince, Strangers,

Strangers, or their own Flesh and Blood, alive or dead, if they have been Hereticks, or insufficient Catholicks, into the Fire all they go.

What English man, who had but one drop of true English Blood left in his Veins, could have endured to behold this horrid sight? To see a parcel of cowardly Papists breaking up a Royal Monument with Sacrilegious Hands, and dragging thence a mighty Monarch, whom when he was alive, they durst not have look'd in the Face: to see those Sacred Temples, which had been incircled with a Crown, and that puissant Arm which had sway'd the English Scepter for almost forty Years, now reduced to infamous Ashes; and these thrown into the Water, as not fit to have a place upon God's Earth: and all this perform'd by the pure Zeal of his own Daughter, only because he was not quite so good a Catholick as her self?

I could not forbear shaking this Note a little, to try what Musick it will make in their Ears, who make way for a Popish Successor, out of pure Loyalty to a Protestant Prince. As they like this, they may proceed. For here they may plainly behold what blessed Fruits the Authority of the Holy Father is like to produce, and what true and laudable Service will be done to Protestant Princes; by introducing Popery.

So well the first Reformers, in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, understood

derstood the Spirit of Popery. And yet they knew nothing of those Hellish Plots, which almost filled up the succeeding part of that Queen's Reign. They knew nothing of the *Paris* Wedding, the Gunpowder Plot, or the *St. Bartholomew's* Massacre; which will remain in Books, as Monuments of the inhumane and accursed Cruelty of Papists, when time has perished the *London* Monument. And they may as well go and try their Foreheads upon this Monument of stone, as endeavour to out-face the other.

These Cruelties never entred into the Hearts of Pagans, and therefore we have no foundation of a Comparison betwixt Popery and Paganism in this point; no more than we can compare Prince *Rupert's* Iron Guns with *Julius Caesar's*. For this Murdering and Massacring hundreds of thousands upon the score of Religion, in cold Blood, and under the Sacred Rites of Friendship, are things found out in these latter Ages: And the compendious destruction of a Nation at one blow, is as perfectly a new invention, as the Gunpowder it self, which was to have done that Catholick Job.

All that can be done therefore in this Matter, is;

1. To shew what Cruelty the Pagans exercised upon the account of Religion.

And, 2. to shew that the Papists have far exceeded them. The

The Pagan Cruelty, upon the account of Religion, falls under these two Heads.

1. The Sanguinary Laws which were enacted, or put in execution against the Christians.

2. The Outrages which were committed upon them.

In both these the Papists have much out-done the Pagans, as might easily be made appear from their own General Councils, their own Historians, their Popes Speeches, particularly that of *Sixtus Quintus*, upon the Murder of *Henry the Third of France*; their Popes Bulls, particularly to the Irish in their late Holy War; their Holy Inquisition, which has, I will not say, Ten Persecutions, but ten thousand Persecutions in the Belly of it.

28. Vol.

Conc. Paris,
cap. 3. p. 161.

Alas, the Roman Laws were but Cobwebs, to those of Holy Church against Heresy. You may see some of them in the Decrees of the *Lateran Council*, under *Innocent the Third*; Laws like our late Act for burying in Wollen, which will execute themselves, and extirpate pestilent Northern Heresie, by a modest computation, in a Year and halfs Time. For it is Deprivation to the Bishop that is remiss and negligent, who must make room for another, that can and will confound Heretical Pravity: It is Death in that private man, who will not be an Informer: it is the loss of his Kingdom to that

that Prince, who will not extirpate as fast as he can; which in that case is to be given to Catholick Free-booters, who, when they have extirpated the Hereticks, are to possess it without any contradiction, and to keep it in the purity of the Faith.

But because I would willingly do all Right to the *Papists* in this Matter, which cannot be done, but by a large and just Discourse upon the Subject; I shall here break off, making that the Conclusion, which is the only end and intention of this Book, and that my hearty prayer to God, which shall always be my poor endeavour among men.

The Lord of Heaven and Earth 21 part Hom. for Whitsun. P. 216.
 defend us from their Tyranny
 and Pride, that they never enter
 into his Vineyard again, to the disturbance of his seely poor Flock:
 but that they may be utterly confounded and put to flight in all parts of the World: And he of his great Mercy so work in all mens Hearts, by the mighty Power of the Holy Ghost, that the comfortable Gospel of his Son Christ may be truly preached, truly received, and truly followed in all places, to the beating down of Sin, Death, the Pope, the Devil, and all the Kingdom of Antichrist, that like scattered and dispersed Sheep, being
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at length gathered into one Fold, we
may in the end rest all together in
the Bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and
Jacob, there to be partakers of e-
ternal and everlasting Life,
through the Merits and Death
of Jesus Christ our Saviour. A-
MEN.

FINIS

